# There Is no Male and Female:

# Galatians 3:26-28 and

# Gnostic Baptismal Tradition

A thesis presented

by

Dennis Ronald MacDonald

to

The Committee for the Study of Religion

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

New Testament

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

March 1978

## SUMMARY

Several scholars have recognized that Paul was alluding to baptismal tradition in Gal 3:26-28, and they have reconstructed that tradition from Galatians and the parallels in 1 Cor 12:13 and Col 3:9-11. But it is difficult to justify this method of reconstruction, since Col 3:9-11 seems to be dependent on Gal 3:26-28, and since 1 Cor 12:13 does not contain most of the indicators of tradition in Gal 3:26-28. Therefore, any reconstruction of the tradition used by Paul must be primarily dependent on an analysis of the Galatian passage.

A tradition strikingly parallel to Gal 3:26-28 appears in the Gospel of the Egyptians, 2 Clement, and the Gospel of Thomas, all written by the middle of the second century.

| Gos. Egypt. | Gal 3:26-28 |
|---|---|
| | For in Christ all of you are sons of God through faith, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ |
| When you tread upon the garment (ἔνδυμα) of shame, and when the two become one, | have put on (ἐνεδύσασθε) Christ. There is no Jew or Greek,. There is no slave or free. |
| and the male with the female neither male nor female (οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ). | There is no male and female (οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ). For you all are one in Christ Jesus. |

Notice the formal similarities:

1. Both begin with garment images using cognate words (ἔνδυμα, ἐνδύω)

2. Both speak of unification: "the two become one," "you all are one"

3. Both list pairs of opposites

4. Both conclude with the pair male/female

5. Both begin in the second person plural and switch to the third person singular (γένηται, ἕνι)

If Galatians were dependent on this garment/two-are-one tradition (as we have chosen to call it), several of the traditional characteristics in Gal 3:26-28 would be easily explained: (1) the change of person from the first person plural in the context to the second person plural, and then to the list in the third person singular; (2) the proximity of a garment image to a reference to sexuality and unity; and most importantly (3), Paul's apparently superfluous allusion to baptism.

The garment/two-are-one tradition was a baptismal tradition. The saying appears in Valentinian Gnosticism and Syrian Christianity, where the images of putting off the shameful garment, and the reuniting of the sexes appear frequently in baptismal contexts. The underlying anthropology of the tradition was shaped by the widespread Platonic interpretation of Genesis, in which the unity of the first man was disrupted by the creation of woman and sexual division. The divided pair then were clothed in bodies, the garments of skins in Gen 3:21. Salvation, therefore, was the removal of the body and the reunion of the sexes as the fulfillment of Gen 2:24, "the two will become one." This return to the primordial state was accomplished--or at least symbolized--by baptism.

This anthropological interpretation of Genesis appears already in Philo of Alexandria, but Paul probably knew of it through his

contacts with the Christian community in Corinth. In Corinth too, Genesis speculation accompanied disdain for the body and an alteration of sexuality, which included celibacy. Their vicarious baptism for the dead (1 Cor 15:29) testifies to the ontological importance of the rite; it probably signified the soul's liberation from the body. The removal of veils by the Corinthian women (1 Cor 11:3-16) seems to have been motivated by their claim to have become male--i.e., to have returned to sexual union.

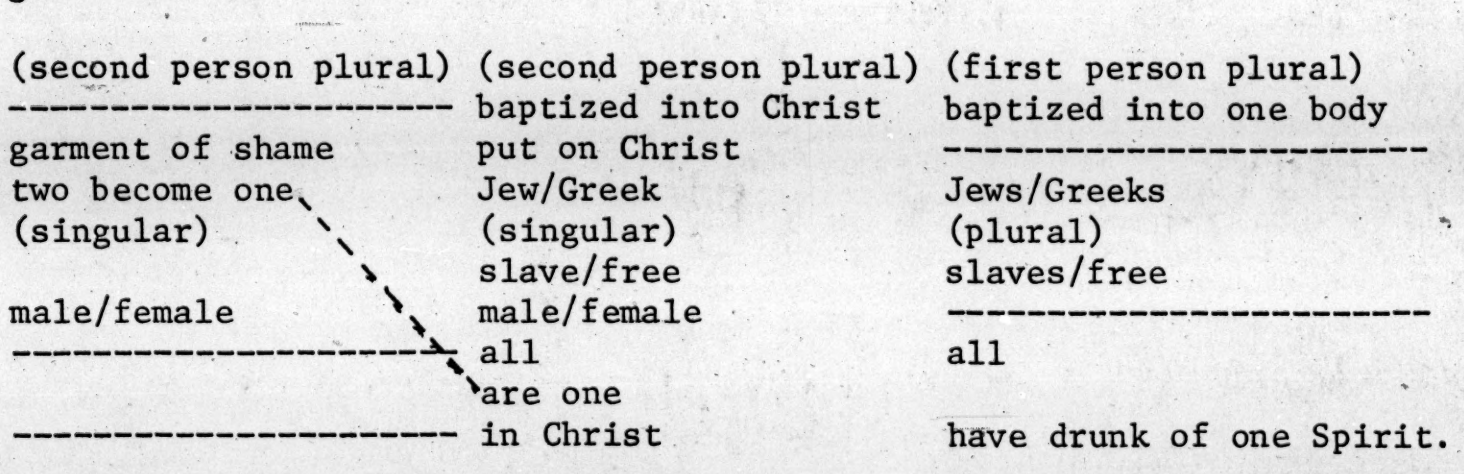
This dependence of Gal 3:26-28 on the garment/two-are-one tradition is made more likely when one compares Paul's apparent alterations of the tradition in Galatians with his polemic against the anthropology and sacramentology of the tradition in 1 Corinthians. (1) In Galations 3 Paul changes the reference to treading on the garment of shame to putting on Christ. In other words, in baptism one does not put off the body; one becomes a member of the Christian community, Christ's body. One is "in Christ" in that one has put on Christ. So too in 1 Corinthians Paul argues against those who would have put off the body. The immortal soul must not put off the moral body; this mortal body must put on immortality and incorruption (1 Cor 15:53-54).

(2) In Galatians 3 Paul alters the theme of unity in the tradition from sexual union of the initiate with his or her heavenly syzygy to social unity of Jews with Greeks, of slaves with freedmen, and of males with females. This emphasis on social unity in the community appears frequently in 1 Corinthians, and in 1 Cor 12:13 Paul argues for unity by referring to baptism in words almost identical to those

in Gal 3:26-28:

> For also in one spirit all of us were baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free. And all have drunk of one spirit.

It is worth noting that 1 Cor 12:13 has in common with Gal 3:26-28 precisely what Gal 3:26-28 does not have in common with the garment/two-are-one tradition. Absent are the very elements which indicate that Gal 3:26-28 was dependent on tradition. In other words, 1 Cor 12:13 represents Paul's own interpretation of baptism and helps us discern Paul's use of the tradition in Galatians.




Baptism for Paul symbolized the initiate's entrance into a new creation, the community or Christ's body; it did not symbolize one return to the primordial state.

It would appear then that Paul indeed was dependent on the garment/two-are-one tradition in Gal 3:26-28. A recognition of this dependence is necessary for a proper understanding of Paul's attitude toward women, for both here and in 1 Cor 11:3-16 he discussed sexuality as a part of a larger conversation. Before we evaluate him in the context of our modern concerns for sexual equality, we must evaluate Paul in the context of his opposition to the religious anthropology

characteristic of Alexandrian Judaism, Corinthian and Syrian Christ-
endom, and Valentinian Gnosticism.

Συζύγη μου ἐπιγείῳ

TABLE OF CONTENTS


| | Page |
|---|---|
| ABBREVIATIONS | vi |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | viii |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| CHAPTER I. A FORMAL COMPARISON OF GALATIANS 3:26-28 AND THE GARMENT/TWO-ARE-ONE TRADITION | 4 |
| CHAPTER II. ANCIENT VERSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE GARMENT/TWO-ARE-ONE TRADITION | 16 |
| The Gospel of the Egyptians | 17 |
| Julius Cassianus | 21 |
| The Garment of Shame | 22 |
| The Two Are One | 27 |
| Clement of Alexandria | 30 |
| 2 Clement | 32 |
| The Relation of the Quotation to the Gospel of the Egyptians | 33 |
| Interpretation of the Tradition | 37 |
| The Gospel of Thomas | 39 |
| The Garment of Shame | 39 |
| The Construction of Logia 21 and 22 | 44 |
| Becoming a Child | 49 |
| The Two Are One | 51 |
| Conclusion | 57 |
| CHAPTER III. THE HISTORY AND SITZ IM LEBEN OF THE GARMENT/TWO-ARE-ONE TRADITION | 65 |
| Sitz im Leben Jesu? | 65 |
| Sitz im Leben der Kirche | 68 |
| The "School of Valentinus" | 69 |
| Early Syrian Christianity | 76 |
| Treading on the Garment of Shame | 83 |
| Conclusion | 88 |
| CHAPTER IV. ANTHROPOLOGY, BAPTISM AND SEXUALITY IN PHILO AND 1 CORINTHIANS | 89 |
| Attitudes to the Body | 91 |
| Attitudes to Baptism | 100 |
| Attitudes to Sexuality | 105 |
| Putting off the Veil | 110 |
| Conclusion | 124 |

page

CHAPTER V. A THEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF GALATIANS 3:26-28 AND THE GARMENT/TWO-ARE-ONE TRADITION . . . . . 127

The Alteration of the Garment Image . . . . . 128
The Alteration of the Unity Image . . . . . 131
The Alteration of the Moods . . . . . 139
Conclusion . . . . . 139

CONCLUSION . . . . . 141

The Garment/Two-Are-One Trajectory . . . . . 141
Sexual Division in Paul . . . . . 144

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 149

## ABBREVIATIONS

ALGHJ: Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums

BIFAO: Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale

BLE: Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique

CSCO: Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium

CSEL: Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum

ErJb: Eranos Jahrbuch

FRLANT: Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments

GCS: Griechische christliche Schriftsteller

HR: History of Religions

HTR: Harvard Theological Review

ICC: International Critical Commentary

IDB: G. A. Buttrick (ed.), Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible

IDBSup: Supplementary volume to IDB

JAAR: Journal of the American Academy of Religion

JBL: Journal of Biblical Literature

JTS: Journal of Theological Studies

LCL: Loeb Classical Library

NovT: Novum Testamentum

NTS: New Testament Studies

Numen: Numen: International Review for the History of Religions

OCP: Orientalia christiana periodica

PL: J. Migne, Patriologia latina

RevScRel: Revue des sciences religieuses

SBL: Society of Biblical Literature

SBLDS: SBL Dissertation Series

SCO: Scriptorum christianorum orientalium

TS: Theological Studies

TU: Texte und Untersuchungen

VC: Vigiliae christianae

ZNW: Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation was inspired by a gratuitous discovery in the second floor of the Harvard Divinity School library one afternoon in November, 1975. For that discovery--as indeed for all things--thanks are due to the Source of all inspiration. But I must also thank Professor George MacRae, my dissertation advisor, for his measured encouragement and his immeasurable assistance. The other members of my committee, Professors Paul Hanson, Helmut Koester and John Strugnell, each offered insightful suggestions without which no doubt this study would be much impoverished. I am also greatly indebted to Sara Hartzler for her stylistic advice, to Melba Nunemaker for typing the final copy, to Joe Springer and Lois Trost for verifying the bibliography, and especially to Diane Prosser MacDonald, my wife, for her patient support and careful proofreading. To her this study is appropriately dedicated, since she has helped me understand sexual equality both theologically and existentially.

The translations of Nag Hammadi documents are those found in The Nag Hammadi Library: In English (ed. James M. Robinson; San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977), except for the translations of the Gospel of Thomas, which are my own. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of Philo come from the Loeb Classical Library edition (10 vols; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929-1962), the translations of the Odes of Solomon come from James Hamilton Charlesworth (The Odes of Solomon, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), and the translations of apocryphal Gospels and Acts come from New Testament

Apocrypha (2 vols; ed. Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher; English translation by A. J. B. Higgins and others, edited by Robert McL. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963-1965). For all translations from the Bible I take full responsibility, although I have followed the RSV whenever possible.

# INTRODUCTION

The movement for sexual equality in the last half of this century has made many aware of misogyny in the Christian tradition, including the Christian Scriptures. Even though this awareness has led to rejection of the tradition by some and reaffirmation of its androcentricity by others, the more common reaction has been to encourage women to participate in the life of the church, to open ecclesiastical structures to feminine leadership, and to reevaluate Christian Scriptures and tradition in light of our new concerns. In the process of this reevaluation, renewed attention necessarily has been given to Paul's affirmation of unity in Gal 3:26-28:

> For all of you are sons of God in Christ Jesus through faith, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. There is no Jew or Greek. There is no slave or free. There is no male and female. For all of you are one in Christ Jesus.

In his seminal book The Bible and the Role of Women, Krister Stendahl speaks of the "breakthrough" of Gal 3:28 in that it gives "glimpses which point beyond and even 'against' the prevailing view and practice of the New Testament church."[1] It not only points beyond the prevailing view of the New Testament church, it also points beyond Paul's own prevailing view, as is apparent from his statements about sexuality elsewhere.

---

[1]Tr. Emily T. Sander (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) 34.

One must avoid, however, overstating Paul's domestic conservatism. The most clearly androcentric passages in the Pauline Corpus ought not be attributed to Paul himself. These include the exclusion of women from the higher church offices in the Pastoral Epistles, the subordination of women in Col 3:18 and Eph 4:21-24, and the exhortation that women be silent in 1 Cor 14:33b-36, a passage now widely thought to be an interpolation.

For those wishing to defend Paul against the charge of being the chief of sexist sinners, only one incorrigible passage remains. In 1 Cor 11:3-16 Paul said women must wear head coverings in worship because they were not as fully in the divine image as men. Some have attempted to remove this contorted passage from the authentic Pauline Corpus by literary amputation,[1] while others have interpreted it to be as egalitarian as Gal 3:26-28.[2] Neither option has received scholarly consensus; the difficulty remains. As one scholar has put it: "Why does Paul go back to traditional arguments for the divinely ordained . . . subordination of women?"[3]

As we shall see, Paul equivocated because the issue for him in both Gal 3:26-28 and 1 Cor 11:3-16 was not primarily sexual equality.

---

[1] William O. Walker, Jr., "1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and Paul's Views Regarding Women," JBL 94, 1 (1975) 94-110. See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor's critical review, "The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16?" JBL 95, 4 (1976) 615-621.

[2] Morna D. Hooker, "Authority on Her Head: an Examination of 1 Cor 11:10," NTS 10 (1963-64) 410-416.

[3] Elaine Pagels, "Paul and Women: a Response to Recent Discussion," JAAR 42, 3 (1974) 544.

He did not share our concern over this issue, at least not in terms of our modern consciousness. He discussed sexuality only when it was germane to another controversy which extended to the very nature of Christian existence, one which included interpretations of baptism, eschatology and anthropology. Therefore, if we are to understand Paul's attitudes to sexuality, we must not import our own cultural consciousness, but place his statements in the context of the controversy which informed them.

This thesis attempts to reconstruct the context by suggesting that a baptismal tradition found in Gnostic circles--which we will call the garment/two-are-one tradition--was known and used by Paul, mutatis mutandis, in Gal 3:26-28, and by showing that Paul opposed the theology and anthropology of that tradition in 1 Corinthians. The purpose of the study is not to claim that Christian Gnosticism already existed during Paul's lifetime, even though this study would seem to render this conclusion more probable. Our purpose is simply to show that a tradition later used by Gnostics apparently was used by Paul, was influential in Corinth, and was ultimately dependent on Hellenistic Judaism. Or, to read the story chronologically, from philosophical seeds in Hellenistic Judaism a tradition sprouted among Corinthian Christians, a tradition Paul attempted to nip in the bud, but which nonetheless flourished in second and third century Christian Gnosticism. Furthermore, we shall show each of Paul's references to sexuality must be read in the context of this influential and fascinating trajectory through the early church if we are to understand his affirmation "there is no male and female."

# CHAPTER I

## A FORMAL COMPARISON OF GALATIANS 3:26-28 AND THE GARMENT/TWO-ARE-ONE TRADITION

Several peculiarities in Gal 3:26-28 indicate dependence on tradition. First, there is an unnecessary change in person from the first person plural in verse 25 to the second person plural in verses 26-27. Second, in the context Paul argues that all believers are children of God through faith; but to prove his point, he refers to baptism. Even though Hermann-Josef Venetz and S. Légasse have shown this contradiction is apparent and not material,[1] the reference to baptism clearly is unnecessary for his argument. Third, only here in the Pauline letters does the image of "putting on" appear in the context of community unity, and only here does it refer to a past act.

In contrast to this formal dependence on tradition, the theology of the passage is thoroughly Pauline. The unity of Jews and Greeks in the congregation is a primary concern in Galatians and Romans. The brotherhood of slaves and freedmen is the emphasis of his letter to Philemon. One might almost say that the phrase "all of you are sons of God in Christ Jesus through faith" is an epitome of the

---

[1] Hermann-Josef Venetz, "'Christus anziehen.' Eine Exegese zu Gal 3:26-27 als Beitrag zum paulinischen Taufverständnis," Freib. Zeit. Phil. Theol. 20, 1-2 (1973) 3-36, and S. Légasse, "Foi et baptême chez saint Paul: Étude de Galates 3:26-27," BLE 74, 2 (1973) 81-102.

Pauline mission. Notice also that 1 Corinthians 7:17-40 discusses--in the same order--relations between Jews and Greeks (18-19), slaves and free (20-24), men and women (25-40). There are two possible interpretations of this integration of traditional characteristics with Paul's own theology. Either Paul used a tradition which closely reflected his own interests, or he redacted it. It is essential to decide which was more likely the case.

Most scholars who think Paul alluded to a tradition in Gal 3:26-28 have preferred the first alternative--i.e., that the tradition originally reflected Paul's own interests--and they have reconstructed the tradition from the parallels in 1 Cor 12:13 and Col 3:9-11.

| Gal 3:26-28 | 1 Cor 12:13 | Col 3:9-11 |
|---|---|---|
| For all of you are sons of God in Christ Jesus through faith for | For also in one Spirit | |
| as many of you as were baptized into Christ | all of us were baptized into one body, | |
| | | putting off the old human with its deeds, |
| have put on Christ. | | and putting on the new renewed unto knowledge according to the image of the one who created it, |
| There is no Jew or Greek. | whether Jews or Greeks, | where there is no Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, |
| There is no slave or free. | whether slaves or free. | slave, free. |
| There is no male and female, | | |
| For all of you are one | And all have drunk of | But Christ is all |

in Christ Jesus. one spirit. things and in all things.[1]

For example, Wayne A. Meeks and Michel Bouttier reconstruct their alleged prototypes from the presupposition that at least two of these passages are independent witnesses to a common tradition.[2] If they are correct, the reconstruction of the tradition relies either on one version being more primitive than the others, or on an eclectic recasting of the tradition from the independent parallels. In either case, the tradition would be similar to Paul's

---

[1]Or, in Greek:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, | καὶ γὰρ ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, | |
| ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. | | ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν, |
| οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην, | εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες, | ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, |
| οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, | εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι, | δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος, |
| οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. | καὶ πάντες ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν. | ἀλλὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός. |

[2]Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," HR 13, 2 (1974) 165-108 and Bouttier, "Complexio Oppositorum: sur les formules de 1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:26-28; Col 3:10-11," NTS 23 (1976) 1-19.

own theology since the theme of social unity so important to Paul would be present in either reconstruction. On the other hand, if Galatians alone were an independent witness, arguments for the nature of the tradition could only be made from Galatians itself: the other parallels could offer no independent controls. If this were the case, the tradition need not have reflected Paul's own theology. He might simply have used the form and images of the tradition and altered its meaning, since it is precisely the form and images which indicated tradition in the first place.

The presupposition that at least two of these parallels are independent is unwarranted. Since Colossians probably was not written by Paul, it might well have been dependent on Galatians.[1] In all the literature from Paul and the Pauline "school," only in Galatians and Colossians is there concern for τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κοσμοῦ, and in both letters these "elemental spirits" are related to ritual observances.[2] Both contain similar lists of vices and virtues,[3] and references to crucifying desire.[4]

There is also evidence from the parallels themselves that Colossians was dependent on Galatians. First, it is unlikely that Colossians was dependent on 1 Cor 12:13 or a tradition like it since

---

[1]See for instance Eduard Lohse, Colossians and Philemon (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 182.

[2]Gal 4:3--1 and Col 2:16-22.

[3]Gal 5:16-23 and Col 3:9-17.

[4]Gal 5:24 and Col 3:5.

Colossians never agrees with 1 Corinthians against Galatians, whereas it frequently agrees with Galatians against 1 Corinthians.[1] Second Colossians probably was dependent on Galatians and not on a tradition common to both because of the similarity of the last phrases: "For all of you are one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:28), "But Christ is all things and in all things" (Col 3:11). If the phrase in Galatians is best explained as Paul's own statement and not a quotation from the tradition, it would appear that the similarity of the last phrases should be attributed to the dependence of Colossians on Galatians. To decide whether or not that phrase in Galatians was a part of the tradition we must look at the structure of the entire section. Notice the similarity between the phrase in Gal 3:26 which begins the passage and verse 28 which ends it. Both are characteristically Pauline.[2]

vs. 26 πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ιησοῦ

vs. 28 πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ιησοῦ

---

[1] The agreements between Colossians and Galatians against 1 Corinthians are:

A. Both contain garment references.
B. Both use οὐκ ἔνι, uncommon in Pauline literature (outside of these parallels it appears only in 1 Cor 6:5).
C. Both begin in the second person plural and contain pairs in the third person singular.
D. Both end with similar phrases.

[2] The difference between ἐκ πίστεως in vss. 22 and 24 and διὰ τῆς πίστεως in 26 need not indicate 26 as a part of the source. As Venetz says, "Ein Blick auf das Gesamte der paulinischen Briefe wird uns allerdings lehren, dass eine solche Unterscheidung nicht immer sinnwoll vorgenommen werden kann" (p. 9, n. 27). Venetz does claim, however, that the change in preposition indicates "der Verfasser in V. 26 eine von V. 25 verschiedene Situation anvisiert" (p. 9).

Apparently Paul was using a convention for quoting tradition by which one could quote it without losing sight of the issue at hand. One simply repeated again at the end a phrase or word used before the allusion. Paul introduced the tradition by stating that all the Galatians were sons of God (in the second person plural, anticipating the person and number of the tradition), alluded to the tradition as support, concluded it with a phrase similar to the one that preceded it, and continued speaking of sonship and adoption. It would appear then that Paul placed the tradition inside the following framework: "For all of you are sons of God in Christ Jesus through faith . . . . For all of you are one in Christ Jesus." Therefore, the similarities between the last phrases of the parallels in Galatians and Colossians ought to be attributed to the dependence of the latter on the former, and not to its dependence on common tradition. The author of Colossians modelled this passage from that in Galatians, and altered "all of you are one in Christ Jesus" to "Christ is all things and in all things," an alteration consistent with his cosmic Christology. Furthermore, the absence of the male/female element in Colossians can easily be explained as a conscious omission because the relationship between men and women in Colossians is not one of equality but of the subordination of women (3:18-19). This evidence suggests the dependence of Colossians on Galatians.

Michael Bouttier agrees that Colossians was dependent on Galatians, but claims that Gal 3:26-28 and 1 Cor 12:13 were both independent witnesses to the tradition. Furthermore, he suggests

1 Cor 12:13 preserves the more original form of the tradition because of its structural parallelism:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς | | πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, |
| b | εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι | εἴτε Ἕλληνες | |
| c | εἴτε δοῦλοι | εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι | |
| d | καὶ | | πάντες ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν. |

No one can deny this is neatly structured, but this need not indicate a more primitive stage; it could as easily indicate a more refined stage. Furthermore, those elements which indicated that Gal 3:26-28 was traditional are not present in 1 Cor 12:13. One indication that Gal 3:26-28 was traditional is the change in person from "we" in the context to "you" (plural) in 26-27. If 1 Cor 12:13 were quoting the same tradition, presumably it too would be in the second person plural, especially since the context does not dictate another person or number. But 1 Cor 12:13 is in the first person plural--precisely the person and number in the context of Gal 3:26-28 which Paul altered in order to use the tradition there. If 1 Cor 12:13 were the more original, it would be difficult to explain the change in person in Gal 3:26. Another reason for thinking that Gal 3:26-28 was traditional is the garment allusion related to ecclesial unity. The allusion is missing in 1 Cor 12:13, and it is difficult to explain why Paul would have added it in Galatians.

Another option for those who would see a common tradition behind both Gal 3:26-28 and 1 Cor 12:13 would be to take Gal 3:26-28 as the more original form which Paul later altered when writing 1 Corinthians. This is the position of Wayne Meeks. But this position too is

problematic because of the glaring absence of the male/female pair in 1 Corinthians. Since Paul does not comment on or allude to this element in Galatians 3, Meeks no doubt is right that it was a part of the tradition;[1] and presumably he would agree with Krister Stendahl that Paul omitted this pair in 1 Corinthians because sexuality was problematic there.[2]

Although none can deny sexuality was a problem in Corinth, the presence of the problem there might just as well be an argument against 1 Cor 12:13 being traditional. As S. Scott Bartchy has shown, Jews, Greeks, slaves, free, men, and women apparently lived together harmoniously in Corinth.[3] In fact, the problem with sexuality there was not a battle of the sexes but a result of the affirmation that sexual division had been transcended, as we shall see. Therefore, had the Corinthians known the tradition as it appears in Gal 3:26-28, Paul would have raised a red flag by having omitted the reference to male/female unity, and would have gained little by having affirmed the unity of Jews/Greeks, slaves/free. One also would have expected Paul to have defended this "omission," but there is no trace of defensiveness. It seems Paul thought the "omission" needed no defending because he was not using tradition at all; he was simply affirming his own conviction that baptism and Lord's Supper were symbols of

---

[1] "Image," 181.

[2] The Bible and the Role of Women, 35.

[3] First-Century Slavery and 1 Corinthians 7:21 (SBLDS 11; Missoula: SBL, 1973) 114-120.

of ecclesial unity.[1] The similarities between Gal 3:26-28 and 1 Cor 12:13, therefore, should be attributed to Paul's interpretation of baptism and not to a shared tradition. In light of such evidence, one can make convincing claims for use of tradition only in Gal 3:26-28. Col 3:9-11 was dependent on Galatians, and 1 Cor 12:13 simply reflects Paul's own interpretation of baptism.

We must look elsewhere if we are to find an independent reference to the tradition behind Gal 3:26-28, and I suggest we look to a saying or a tradition known by the authors of the Gospel of Thomas (Gos. Thom. 21, 22, 37), 2 Clement (2 Clem. 12:2), and the Gospel of the Egyptians (Gos. Egypt.).[2] By comparing the two traditions--i.e., that behind Gal 3:26-28 and that behind these other sources--we can explain the change in person and the use of images as well as the characteristically Pauline emphasis in Gal 3:26-28. For example, compare the following passages in Gos. Egypt. and Galatians.

Gos. Egypt.

Gal 3:26-28

For in Christ all of you are sons
of God through faith,
for as many of you as have been
baptized into Christ

---

[1] In Paul's authentic letters, outside of Gal 3:26-28 and 1 Cor 12:13-14 the sacraments are symbols of unity in 1 Cor 4:1-7 (if the "mysteries of God" are sacraments); 10:17, and Rom 6:3-6. Paul also argues against the divisions caused by baptismal abuses (1 Cor 1:11-17) and against divisions at the Eucharist (1 Cor 11:17-22).

[2] This is the Gospel of the Egyptians known to Clement of Alexandria, and not the Nag Hammadi document with the same title. The tradition is found in Strom. III, 13, 92.

When you tread upon
the garment (ἔνδυμα) of shame,
and when the two become one,

and the male with the female
neither male nor female.

have put on (ἐνεδύσασθε) Christ.
There is no Jew or Greek.
There is no slave or free.

There is no male and female.
For you all are one in Christ Jesus.[1]

The similarities between the two are not superficial.

1. Both begin with garment images using cognate words (ἔνδυμα, ἐνδύω)

2. Both speak of unification: "the two are one," "you all are one"

3. Both list pairs of opposites

4. Both conclude with the pair male/female

5. Both begin in the second person plural and switch to the third person singular (γένηται, ἕνι)

Almost certainly there is a genetic relationship between them.

Furthermore, when compared with Gal 3:26-28 and the Gos. Egypt. version of the garment/two-are-one tradition, 1 Cor 12:13 seems to reflect the redactional elements of the parallel in Galatians. That is, 1 Cor 12:13 has in common with Gal 3:26-28 precisely what Gal 3:26-28 does not have in common with the garment/two-are-one tradition.

---

[1]Or in Greek:

ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα
πατήσητε,
καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἕν,

καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας
οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε
διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,
ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε,
Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε.

οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην,
οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος,

οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ,
πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε
ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

| garment/two-are-one | Gal 3:26-28 | 1 Cor 12:13 |
|---|---|---|
| (second person plural) | (second person plural) | (first person plural) |
| --- | baptized into Christ | baptized into one body |
| garment of shame | put on Christ | --- |
| two become one | Jew/Greek | Jews/Greeks |
| (singular) | (singular) | (plural) |
| | slave/free | slaves/free |
| male/female | male/female | --- |
| --- | all | all |
| | are one | |
| --- | in Christ | have drunk of one Spirit. |

1 Corinthians, like Galatians, explicitly mentions baptism, contains the pairs Jew/Greek, slave/free, and ends with a reference to all being united. But if one compares 1 Corinthians with the garment/two-are-one tradition, there is almost no resemblance: gone from 1 Corinthians are the garment and sexual allusions, and the changes in person to the second person plural and then the third person singular. In other words, absent are the very elements which indicated that Gal 3:26-28 was dependent on tradition and which made it and the garment/two-are-one tradition most similar. Notice also that the garment/two-are-one tradition and Gal 3:26-28 use the negative phrases "neither . . . nor," or "there is no . . . or . . ." while 1 Corinthians uses the positive "either . . . or ." It would appear then that the form and images in Gal 3:26-28 came from the garment/two-are-one tradition, but the concern for social unity symbolized by baptism was Paul's redaction.

Of course, we will have to evaluate the possibility that the garment/two-are-one tradition in fact might have been dependent on Galatians 3 and not the other way around. But before doing so we must first describe the form, theology and Sitz im Leben of the

garment/two-are-one tradition (chapters two and three), then assess the possibility that this same theology was present in Pauline circles (chapter four), so that we will be able to compare the theologies of the two parallels and thereby judge in which direction the trajectory most likely moved (chapter five). For now we need only observe that if Gal 3:26-28 were dependent on the garment/two-are-one tradition it would explain (1) the curious change in person from the first person plural in the context to the second person plural and then to the third person singular, and (2) the presence of the garment reference in the context of ecclesial unity--including the unity of the male and the female--found only here in Paul's letters.

## CHAPTER II

## ANCIENT VERSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE GARMENT/TWO-ARE-ONE TRADITION

The garment/two-are-one tradition appears three times in early Christian literature and in three quite different forms. In 1912, before the discovery of the Coptic Gos. Thom., Kirsopp Lake recognized the similarity between the sayings in Gos. Egypt., 2 Clem., and in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 655 (now recognized to have been a Greek fragment of Gos. Thom.), and he observed, "the problem of the mutual relations between these documents is still unsolved."[1] It remains unsolved, and now the problem is more complex than anyone in 1912 could have expected. The 1946 discovery of the Coptic Gos. Thom. in the Nag Hammadi cache has unearthed another parallel to this tradition entirely unknown to Lake. It appears in a logion generally regarded as "one of the most complicated passages in the Gospel of Thomas."[2] Therefore, the task of describing the relations between these texts is as formidable as it is overdue.

---

[1] The Apostolic Fathers, ed. and tr. Kirsopp Lake (2 vols.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912-13) 2. 147 n. 1.

[2] Bertil Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel According to Thomas (tr. Eric J. Sharpe; New York: Harper, 1961) 218. This judgment is shared by Karl H. Rengstorf ("Urchristliches Kerygma und 'gnostische' Interpretation in einigen Sprüchen der Thomas-evangeliums," Le origini dello gnosticismo /ed. Ugo Bianchi; Leiden: Brill, 1967/565).

Our task, however, goes beyond the relations between these texts--not only because our ultimate goal is to relate them to Gal 3:26-28, but also because we must try to understand the original theology and provenience of the tradition if we are to monitor its development. Therefore, in addition to analyzing its forms, we will necessarily have to give attention to the interpretations of the tradition in the early church. This additional interest allows us to examine not only the meaning of the tradition for its three host documents, but also the interpretations of its Gos. Egypt. version by Julius Cassianus and Clement of Alexandria. For heuristic rather than chronological considerations we shall procede by analyzing (1) the form and interpretation of the tradition in Gos. Egypt., and (2) the interpretations of this version by Julius Cassianus and (3) Clement of Alexandria, (4) its form and interpretation in 2 Clem., and (5) its form and interpretation in Gos. Thom. The final objective will be to define its characteristic form, its most likely original meaning, and its theological provenience.

## The Gospel of the Egyptians

Some have seen in the title, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Αἰγυπτίους, evidence that this gospel (not to be confused with its Coptic Nag Hammadi namesake) was used by the majority of Christians in Egypt.[1]

---

[1]For example, Walter Bauer claims, "the gospel of a minority could never have been called simply the Gospel of the Egyptians" (Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity. /ed. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971/ 50-51).

Even though this is probably an over-interpretation of the title, the gospel undoubtedly was respected in Egypt in the last half of the second century. The Valentinian Theodotus (160-170 C.E.) and the Docetist Julius Cassianus both quoted it as an authority, and it was used by Naassenes and Sabellians long after Origen said it was rejected by dominant Alexandrian Christianity.[1]

Of this gospel only a few fragments remain, and all of them are found in Clement of Alexandria's writings.[2] Nonetheless, the theology of the document is clear enough, since each fragment suggests that salvation is a recapitulation of Adam's primordial state.

> Salome said, "How long will people die?" Jesus answered, "As long as women bear children."[3] And Salome said to him, "Then have I done well in not bearing children?" Jesus answered and said, "Eat every plant, but the plant which is bitter you shall not eat."[4]

From its similarity with Gen 2:16-17a, it is clear this last sentence alludes to the prohibition of the tree of knowledge, understood as

---

[1]Wilhelm Schneemelcher, "The Gospel of the Egyptians," in New Testament Apocrypha (2; ed. Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, and in English by Robert McL. Wilson, tr. A. J. B. Higgins, et.al.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963-65) 1. 166, 169-170.

[2]Origen (First Homily on Luke 1:1), Hippolytus (Ref. V, 7) and Epiphanius (Haer. L, XII, 2) all mention a Gospel of the Egyptians but add nothing to our knowledge of its contents. For an analysis of the futile attempts to attribute other materials to this gospel see that of Wilhelm Schneemelcher in New Testament Apocrypha, 1. 166-178.

[3]Strom. III, 9, 64. This saying, slightly altered, occurs also in III, 6, 45 and Exc. Theod. 67.

[4]Strom. III, 9, 66. Clement explicitly says these two sayings appeared together in this order.

sexual intercourse.[1] By refraining from sex, Salome can end the cycle of birth and death. Perhaps we should understand the following quotation from Gos. Egypt. also in the context of sexual asceticism: Jesus said, "I have come to destroy the works of the female."[2]

The only other fragment of the gospel is the garment/two-are-one saying, and it too seems to trade on Genesis speculation and implies celibacy:

---

[1]Notice the similarities between the prohibition of the bitter plant and the prohibition of the tree of knowledge in Genesis.

| Gos. Egypt. | Gen 2:16-17a (LXX) |
|---|---|
| πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάναν<br>τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσαν<br>μὴ φάγῃς. | ἀπὸ πάντος ξύλου . . . φάγῃ<br>ἀπὸ δὲ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν<br>οὐ φάγεσθε. |

The book Baruch (Hipp., Ref. V, 26, 22-23) and Julius Cassianus (Strom. III, 17, 104) both interpreted the eating of the tree of knowledge as intercourse. This probably also is the meaning of Acts Pet. 8 where Peter tells the Devil: "Thou hast ensnared the first man in lustful desire and bound him to thine ancient wickedness and with the chain of the body; thou art the fruit of the tree of bitterness, which is most bitter, inducing lusts of every kind" (New Testament Apocrypha 2, 290). See also GPhil. C.G. II, 71, 22-34, Acts. Thom. 44, Acts Andr. 5, Gos. Thom. 40 and Odes Sol. 11:21. Jean-Paul Broudéhoux agrees with this interpretation of the Gos. Egypt. passage (Mariage et famille chez Clément d'Alexandrie, /Paris: Beauchesne et Ses Fils, 1970/55).

As Clement himself recognized (Strom. III, 17, 104), this interpretation depends on a double entendre for γινώσκω. In the LXX it is used to translate yāda' in both of its meanings: "to know," and "to know sexually." So for instance, in Gen 2-3 Adam and Eve eat of τὸ ξύλον τοῦ γινώσκειν and after they are expelled from the garden the LXX reads Ἀδὰμ δὲ ἔγνω Εὔαν . . . , καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκε τὸν Κάϊν (Gen 4:1).

[2]Strom. III, 9, 63. GrSeth says "Do not become female, lest you give birth to evil and (its) brothers" (C.G. VII, 65, 24-25). In DialSav the Lord commands: "Pray in the place where there is no woman, (and) destroy the works of femaleness" (C.G. III, 144, 18-20).

> When Salome asked when the events about which she inquired would be known the Lord said:
> "When you tread upon the garment of shame,
> and when the two are one,
> and the male with the female neither male nor female."[1]

The "garment of shame" seems to refer to the "coats of skins" God gave the first couple to cover their shame;[2] "the two are one" might refer to Gen 2:24, "the two will become one flesh;" and "neither male nor female" to Gen 1:27, "He made them male and female."[3]

Even though little more can be said about the meaning of this tradition from the redaction of the Gospel (we have already quoted everything we possess of it), we can reconstruct--with difficulty but with relative confidence--the theology and Genesis speculation it presupposed by analyzing the theology of some of its principal users, Julius Cassianus and his circle of ascetics.

---

[1] Strom. III, 13, 92. For the Greek version see note three below.

[2] Gilles Quispel writes: "das Fragment des Aegypterevangelium: ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε setze dieselbe Interpretation von Genesis 3:21 voraus;" i.e., the same interpretation as in the "Hymn of the Pearl" ("Makarius und das Lied von der Perle," Le origini dello gnosticismo, 634).

[3] Compare the following:

| Gos. Egypt. | Gen 3:21 (LXX) |
|---|---|
| ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε, | καὶ ἐποίησεν κύριος . . . χιτῶνας δερματίνους, καὶ ἐνέδυσεν αὐτούς. |
| | Gen 2:24-25 |
| καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἕν, | καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὅ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνοντο. |
| | Gen 1:27 |
| καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ. | ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς. |

## Julius Cassianus

The difficulty in understanding Julius Cassianus stems from the condition of our witnesses to him. Of his life we know only that he was a rigorous ascetic, from "the school of Valentinus," and the founder or leader (ἐξάρχων) of the Docetists.[1] He wrote a multi-volumed work of Biblical interpretation, Exegetics (τὰ Ἐξηγητικά)--the first book of which Clement of Alexandria lauded as an accurate account of the antiquity of Hebrew philosophy[2]--and a work On Continence or On Eunuchism (περὶ ἐγκρατείας ἢ περὶ εὐνουχίας), which seems to have been an exposition of relevant Biblical texts.[3] All that remain of these are a few scraps used to make Clement's "quilt," his Stromateis.[4] If we are to reconstruct Cassianus' theological design, we must first collect these scraps and piece them together.

Clement referred to Cassianus explicitly only in book III, 13, 91--17, 104, but it is clear that the section immediately preceding

---

[1]Strom. III, 13, 91. Hilgenfeld (546-549) interprets ἐξάρχων to mean the founder of Docetism, but Broudéhoux no doubt is correct when he writes: "le docétisme existait bien avant Cassien, et rein n'authorise a croire non plus qui Cassien ait été le fondateur d'une secte de 'Docètes'" (Mariage et famille, 57).

[2]Strom. I, 21, 101.

[3]Strom. III, 13, 91.

[4]Cassianus is also mentioned in Theodoret (Haer. Fab. 1, 8) and in Jerome (Gal. VI, 8). Theodoret seems to be dependent on Clement, but Jerome adds that Cassianus used Gal 6:8 to support his asceticism, "Whoever sows to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption." See also Adolph Hilgenfeld, Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums (Leipzig: Fues, 1884) 546-549.

this one also should be connected with him.[1] Furthermore, in III, 6, 45-50 and 9, 63-66 Clement opposed a theology identical to that of Cassianus.[2] Our interpretation of Cassianus then will be limited to Strom. III, 6, 45-50; 9, 63-66; and 12, 86--17, 104. Furthermore, we will discuss his theology only when it is germane to his understanding of the garment/two-are-one tradition.

The Garment of Shame.

Clement said that Cassianus used the tradition from Gos. Egypt., but he did not say how Cassianus interpreted it except that he did so "platonically"; that is, by means of platonic psychology.[3]

---

[1] Strom. III, 12, 86-90. This identification is indicated by Clement himself when he introduces Cassianus in III, 13, 91 with the words τοιούτοις ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ ὁ . . . Ἰούλιος Κασσιανός. See Edward Schwartz, Tatiani Oratio ad Graecos (TU 4, 1; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1888) 49 for dividing 80-86a, on Tatian, from 86b.

[2]
A. Both sections (III, 6, 45-50; 9, 63-66 and 12:86b-17, 104) quote from the Gos. Egypt., and it is quoted only once elsewhere in all of early Christian literature (Exc. Theod. 67): 6, 45; 9, 63/ 12, 86; 13, 92.
B. Both sections claim childbirth sustains death: 6, 45; 9, 64/ 12, 86; 13, 92.
C. Both sections claim sex was introduced by the Devil: 6, 49/ 17, 102 and 104.
D. Both sections speak pejoratively of the "works of the female:" 9, 63/ 13, 93; 14, 94.
E. Both sections contain allusions to Matt 19:11ff: 6, 50/ 13, 91; 15, 99.
F. Both speak of γένεσις and φθορά as results of the fall: 6, 45; 9, 63/ 12, 86; 14, 94.
G. Both sections speak of eating of the tree of knowledge as sexual intercourse: 9, 66/ 17, 104.

Franco Bolgiani also related these sections ("La polemica di Clemente Alessandrino contro gli libertini nel III libro degli 'Stromati,'" Studi in onore di Alberto Pincherle /studi e materiali de storia delle religioni 38, 1; Rome: Ateneo, 1967/ 93-94).

[3] Strom. III, 13, 93.

Presumably Clement is referring to passages like Phaedrus 248 C or Phaedo 81 C in which souls are said to have fallen into the material world because of their desire for the corporeal. But he also might have been thinking of Timaeus 42 A-D, where the soul of the wicked is changed into a woman's nature at the second birth and remains separated from her native star until she repents. Then she puts off her body and returns to her "first and best state," her heavenly abode. Regardless of which passage Clement had in mind, Cassianus found this fall of the soul in Paul as well as Plato when the apostle said: "I am afraid that, as the serpent deceived Eve, your minds will be corrupted from the singleness (ἁπλότητος) with reference to Christ."[1] The mind or soul, Cassianus claimed, was corrupted by deception and left its primordial heavenly singleness, which he might have understood as its androgyny.[2]

But his primary source for this speculation was neither Plato nor Paul, but Genesis 1-3--just as it had been for Gos. Egypt. The fall of the soul into the world was the result of the deception of

---

[1] Ibid., III, 14, 94 quoting 2 Cor 11:3.

[2] Perhaps there is a suggestion of the loss of androgyny in Cassianus' use of 2 Cor 11:3, which originally was in the context of ἱερὸς γάμος imagery: "I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to Christ, to present you as a pure bride to her one husband, but I fear that, as the serpent deceived Eve, your thought will be corrupted from the singleness (ἁπλότητος) with reference to Christ." Of course, ἁπλότης can also be translated "simplicity"--as it should for Paul's understanding--but perhaps the reading "singleness" is better for understanding Cassianus' use of it. He interpreted this text as proof the soul or mind was deceived by the serpent to leave heaven and come to birth. The "singleness with reference to Christ" in that case might well refer to the soul's natural sexual unity.

our first parents when they were beguiled to eat of the forbidden tree, that is, when they enjoyed the sexual union the serpent had learned from the animals.[1] For this transgression, they were incarcerated in mortal bodies; God clothed them in "coats of skins."[2] Because of their union and procreation, other souls--including our own--have strayed and become enslaved.[3]

Salvation for Cassianus, then, was the soul's escape from her fleshy prison; and this escape was to happen not only at death, but also before death by "putting off the old human." This soteriology becomes visible only when we carefully unpack Clement's heavily loaded discussion of Cassianus' use of Eph 4:22-24,[4] the command to

> put off the old human which belongs to the former way of living, corrupted through the desires of deceit . . . and put on the new human created (κτισθέντα Clement reads κτιζόμενον) after God.

Clement's argument against Cassianus runs as follows:

> When the apostle says "put on the new human who is being created in God's image," he tells us who have been molded

---

[1] Strom. III, 17, 102 and 104: "The phrase 'he knew' (ἔγνω, Gen 4:1) signifies the transgression of the commandment."

[2] Strom. III, 14, 95.

[3] To support the relationship between the curses of the fall and birth he quoted Isa 65:23, "My elect will not labor in vain, nor will they bear children for a curse, for there is a seed blessed by the Lord"; and Jer 20:14, "Cursed be the day in which I was born and let it not be sought for" (Strom. III, 15, 98; 16, 100).

[4] Although Clement quoted only from verse 24, verse 22 clearly is referred to in the use of παλαιόν.

> that we have already been molded by the will of the Almighty,[1] and he does not speak of the old (and the new) to represent birth and rebirth, but the life of disobedience and (the life of) obedience. And Cassianus thinks the "coats of skins" are bodies (translation mine).[2]

Apparently behind Clement's passage lies a distinction between two kinds of humanity. For Philo and others, great importance was attached to the distinction between God's creating (κτίζω), or making (ποιέω, Gen 1:27 LXX) Adam and God's molding him (πλάσσω, Gen 2:7 LXX).[3] Philo said, "The human whom God made (ἐποίησεν) differs . . . from the one that 'was molded' (τοῦ πλασθέντος): for the one that was made is less material, having no part in perishable matter."[4] A similar distinction seems to have informed Cassianus' soteriology: the "old human . . . corrupted through the desires of deceit" was the body, the result of having been molded from dust, of Eve's seduction, and of physical birth. The body was the coat of skin given the first pair, and one must put off this garment. To "put on the new human created after God" was to be reborn to the original primordial condition. Cassianus could also speak of this rebirth as a remolding: "the Lord remolded (μετέπλασεν) us and delivered us from the

---

[1] Or, "to us who have been molded by the will of the Almighty, that we already have been molded."

[2] Strom. III, 14, 95.

[3] See Birger A. Pearson, The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology (SBLDS 12; Missoula : SBL, 1973) 15-16 and 51-81.

[4] Leg. All. I, 88. See also IV, 31: "There are two types of men, the one a heavenly man, the other an earthly . . . . For this reason he says that the heavenly man was not molded but was stamped with the image of God; while the earthly is a molded work of the Artificer, but not his offspring."

fellowship of genitalia and appendages."[1]

Against Cassianus, Clement argued that the original molding of the human body was by divine design, not a result of the soul's sin or a demiurge's blunder. One does not need a rebirth or a remolding to a new ontological condition; one needs a life of obedience which will result in a new moral condition. For him, "putting on the new human" was the result of a moral process, not the result of a cultic act or a mystical experience.[2]

But for Cassianus, the believer already had put off the body, because he or she already had been raised to be with Christ. In III, 6, 47-48 Clement quoted Matt 22:30, "after the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage," in order to prove that the Lord approved of marriage in the present age. But his opponents claimed they had already attained the resurrection, and for this reason they did not marry.[3] Theirs was a resurrection from corporeality

---

[1] Strom. III, 13, 92.

[2] This probably explains the alteration of κτισθέντα to κτιζόμενον in Clement's quotation of Eph 4:24. Κτισθέντα is not only the best reading of the verse, it is also the only reading that Clement himself used every other time he quoted it (Paed. III, 3, 17; Strom. I, 18, 90; III, 4, 28; Exc. Theod. 19). Clement argues here that "putting on the new human" is the result of a process, not a sacramental or mystical return to a perfect condition. With this interpretation the present participle is more congenial than the aorist.

[3] The Lucan version of this saying ("The children of this age marry and are given in marriage, but those worthy to meet that age and the resurrection of the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage," 20:34-35) Clement quoted against those who claimed to be children of another age in III, 12, 87. Tatian, discussed in the section immediately preceding 12:87, also used Luke 20:34-35 to defend celibacy, but his alteration of the text shows that he did not believe believers had already been raised: "they who will be worthy

and its demands: sexual intercourse, childbirth and death.[1] Perhaps this resurrection is what Cassianus alluded to when he said, "those being ruled by earthly (kings) both give birth and are born, but our government (πολίτευμα) is in heaven, whence we also await a savior" (Phil 3:20).[2] "Treading on the garment of shame" for him was the ante mortem "resurrection" of the soul from the body.

The Two Are One

As mentioned above, Clement accused Cassianus of interpreting the garment/two-are-one tradition platonically in that Cassianus claimed "the soul is of divine origin and, having become female by desire, has come down here from above to birth and corruption."[3] This reference to the sexuality of the soul is essential for understanding Cassianus' interpretation of the second half of the saying: "when the two are one and the male with the female neither male nor female." Apparently behind his interpretation lay a myth of the soul's female fall. One indeed does find this in Plato (e.g., Timaeus 42, A-D), but it also appears in the Exegesis on the Soul, a Coptic Nag Hammadi

---

of the life of that other world and of the resurrection of the blessed, will neither take wives nor make wedding feasts" (see Arthur Vööbus, The History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient; A Contribution to the Culture in the Near East, /CSCO 184; Louvain Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1958/ 1. 42-43).

[1]Clement complains that if they are truly resurrected they also ought not bother with eating and drinking (Strom. III, 6, 48).

[2]Strom. III, 14, 95. Broudéhoux also relates this text to the claim already to have been raised (Mariage et famille, 49).

[3]Strom. III, 13, 93.

document apparently from Valentinian circles--like Cassianus himself. According to this document:

> As long as she was alone with the Father, she was virgin and in form androgynous. But when she fell down into a body and came to this life, then she fell into the hands of many robbers.[1]

In her fallen state, the soul is wholly female and sleeps with her earthly paramours without satisfaction. She is saved by repentance and the sacraments of baptism and the bridal chamber which return her to her former condition through a reunion with her bridegroom, her abandoned heavenly brother.

> And so the cleansing of the soul is to regain the /newness/ of her former nature and to turn herself back again. This is her baptism.[2]

> but /once/ they unite /with one another/, they become a single life. Wherefore the prophet said (Genesis 2:24) concerning the first man and the first woman,
>
> "They will become a single flesh."
>
> For they were originally joined to one another when they were with the Father before the woman led astray the man, who is her brother. This marriage has brought them back together again and the soul has been joined to her true love.[3]

The ultimate goal of the soul is that

> she might be restored to the place where originally she had been. This is the resurrection that is from the dead. This is the ransom from captivity. This is the upward journey of ascent to heaven.[4]

In spite of differences in detail, we see at once the similarities between these passages and Cassianus. Most important for us is the

---

[1] C.G. II, 127, 22-27.

[2] C.G. II, 131, 34-132, 2.

[3] C.G. II, 132, 34-133, 9.

[4] C.G. II, 134, 10-14.

interpretation here of Gen 2:24b, "the two shall become one flesh." According to the Exegesis on the Soul, the soul originally was one-half of a heavenly androgyne. In the Greek world, the idea of the primordial androgyne was at least as old as Empedocles,[1] but it was made popular for the Hellenistic world by Plato's Symposium. According to Plato's story, when Aristophanes was asked to comment on the nature of Love he suggested the first mortals had four legs, four arms, two heads and were of three sexes: male-male, female-female, and male-female (ἀνδρόγυνον). For their hybris Zeus had Apollo divide them. What we call Love, therefore, is nothing other than the divided halves longing to be reunited, "to make one out of two."[2] The phrase "the two will become one flesh" in Gen 2:24 was similarly taken to be a return to primordial sexual oneness by those who thought Adam was an androgyne.[3]

---

[1]Fragments 61-62 in Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker (ed. Hermann Diels and Walter Kranz; 2 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1954) 1. 334-335.

[2]Symposium 191 D: ποιῆσαι ἓν ἐκ δυοῖν ; 192 E: ἐκ δυοῖν εἷς γενέσθαι. Perhaps it is worth noting that Philo, bemoaning the loss of Adam's unity, also spoke of eros as the longing for reunification: "Eros supervenes, brings together and fits into one the divided halves, as it were, of a single living creature" (Op. Mund. 152). For a more detailed discussion of the androgyne in Greco-Roman antiquity see Marie Delcourt, Hermaphrodite, Mythes et rites de la bisexualité dans l' antiquité classique (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1958) and Hermaphroditea, Recherchés sur l'être double promoteur de la fertilité dans le monde classique (tr. Jennifer Nicholson; Collection Latomus; Bruxelles: Latomus, 1966). See also Derwood C. Smith, "The Two Made One: Some Observations on Ephesians 2:14-18," Ohio Journal of Religious Studies, 1 (1973) 36-41.

[3]The belief that Adam was an androgyne was extremely widespread. Bereshith Rabbah says: "R. Jeremiah B. Leazar said: 'When the Holy One, blessed be He, created Adam, He created him an hermaphrodite, for it is said "Male and female created He them and called their name

Although we are not told explicitly by Clement that Cassianus thought Adam had been an androgyne, it is quite likely he did. Like the Exegesis on the Soul, Cassianus (1) came from Valentinian circles, (2) thought of the soul as having become female in its fall into the world, and (3) preached celibacy as the behavioral result of returning to the primordial condition. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that he interpreted the garment/two-are-one tradition as the soul's removal of the material body and the two sexes again becoming one, viz., the female soul again becoming joined to her heavenly male counterpart. Since one experienced this "resurrection" before death, perhaps by a sacrament as in the Exegesis on the Soul, sexual relations were precluded. When the male was with the female they no longer responded as male and female.

## Clement of Alexandria

Against Cassianus' use of the Gos. Egypt. saying, Clement minimized its importance because the tradition was not found in the four traditional gospels, but he then offered his own interpretation of it:

---

Adam"' (Gen 5:2). R. Samuel b. Nahman said: 'When the Lord created Adam He created him double-faced, then He split him and made him of two backs, one back on this side and one back on the other side'" (VIII, 1 in Midrash Rabbah /tr. and ed. Rabbi Dr. H. Friedman and Maurice Simon; 13 vols. in 10; London: Soncino, 1939/ 1. 54). See also Jacob Jervell, Imago Dei: Gen 1, 26f im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen (FRLANT; new series: 58, entire series: 76; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1960) 107-112, David Daube, "Evangelisten und Rabbinen," ZNW 48 (1957) 125-126, and Herman L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (4 vols.; München: Beck, 1922-61) 1. 802 and IV. 405ff. Adam's androgyne was also affirmed by the Naassenes (Hipp. Ref. V, 1) and in GPhil, C.G. II, 68, 22-26, ApocAdam, C.G. V, 64, 5-28.

> It /the saying/ speaks in enigmas of the male urge as wrath and the female lust. Whenever these are done repentance and shame follow. Therefore when someone does something neither in wrath or lust (which indeed . . . overshadow and cover rationality) but takes off (ἀποδυσάμενος) the mist of these things by repentance after having been made ashamed, he ought to unite spirit and soul by obedience to the Word. Then, as Paul says "there is not among you a male nor a female." For by avoiding this form in which the male and female are distinguished, the soul changes into a unity, being neither of the two.[1]

The "garment of shame" is the "mist" of wrath and lust which covers rationality. One takes it off in repentance and shame. The "two become one" when the spirit and soul unite through obedience to the Word. The "male", wrath, and the "female", lust, are abolished when the soul leaves the form determined by these vices and becomes a unity.[2]

Here and in his refutation of Cassianus' use of Eph 4:22-24, Clement rejected the equation garment=body because the world and the body had been created according to God's will. Truly shameful were the passions, which clouded rationality (λογισμός) and thereby hindered obedience to the Word (Λόγος). Here his dependence on the pervasive Middle Platonic tradition and its strong Stoic elements is obvious, since ethics for a Stoic presupposed a relationship between the human λογισμός and the divine Λόγος. The obedience of the will to the cosmic design was as close as the Stoic could come to the divine likeness. For Cassianus, the soul had been incarcerated in the body

---

[1] Strom. III, 13, 93.

[2] Philo's psychologizing of sexual references in the Bible shows that Clement was not the first Alexandrian to do so. See Richard A. Baer, Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female (ALGHJ 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

through a process of corruption (i.e., birth), but it could be saved by being reborn to its original perfection. But for Clement, God had originally created both soul and body by his will; and in spite of their corruption by evil passions, humans could attain salvation through a process of obedience.

## 2 Clement

The document known to us as 2 Clement is an anonymous sermon from the beginning of the second century or the end of the first.[1] Although the identity of the preacher is unknown, its place of origin probably was Corinth.[2] If the date and location of this sermon are correctly ascribed, a saying almost identical to that in Gos. Egypt. was quoted in a Corinthian sermon early in the second century.

---

[1] Joseph B. Lightfoot suggests an early second century date (The Apostolic Fathers /5 vols.; London and New York: Macmillan, 1885-90/ 1. 203-204), and Karl P. Donfried a first century date (The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity /NTSup, 38; Leiden: Brill, 1974/ 1-2).

[2] The book was wrongly ascribed to Clement of Rome at a very early date, and there is no apparent reason why it would have been circulated with 1 Clement had it not been associated with the Corinthian church. Furthermore, to quote Joseph B. Lightfoot:

> The allusion to the athletic games, and presumably to the Isthmian festival, is couched in language which is quite natural if addressed to Corinthians, but not so if spoken elsewhere. When the preacher refers to the crowds that "land" to take part in the games (εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας καταπλέουσιν, #7) without any mention of the port, we are naturally led to suppose that the homily was delivered in the neighborhood of the place where these combatants landed. Otherwise we should expect εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, or εἰς Κόρινθον, or some explanatory addition of the kind (Apostolic Fathers, I 197. See also Donfried, 2-7).

| Gos. Egypt. | 2 Clem. |
|---|---|
| | For the Lord himself, |
| When Salome inquired | when asked by someone (ὑπό τινος) |
| when (πότε) the things about | when (πότε) his Kingdom |
| which she asked would be known | will come, |
| the Lord said: | said: |
| "When (ὅταν) you tread upon | |
| the garment of shame, | |
| and when (ὅταν) | "When (ὅταν) |
| the two become one | the two are one, |
| | and the outside as the inside, |
| and the male with the female | and the male with the female |
| neither male nor female." | neither male nor female. |
| | When you have done these things |
| | the Kingdom of my Father will come."[1] |

The Relation of the Quotation to the Gospel of the Egyptians.

Was the preacher quoting from Gos. Egypt. or from another source?[2] One must answer this question on the basis of the saying alone. The three other extra-canonical Jesus traditions quoted in 2 Clem. cannot

---

[1] Or in Greek:

| | |
|---|---|
| πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης | ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπό τινος, |
| πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο, ἔφη ὁ κύριος, | πότε ἥξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν, |
| ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε, | |
| καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἕν, | ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἕν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, |
| καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ. | καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ. ταῦτα ὑμῶν ποιούντων ἐλεύσεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρός μου. |

[2] Of course it is possible that Gos. Egypt. is dependent on 2 Clem., but this is rendered unlikely by the inexplicable omission of "and the outside as the inside." Since we know 2 Clem. elsewhere quoted Jesus traditions from several sources, and since we cannot isolate the use of traditional material in Gos. Egypt., if there is any direct dependence of one on the other, it is more likely that 2 Clem. would have been dependent on Gos. Egypt. and not the other way around.

successfully be attributed to this gospel;[1] in fact, there is no reason whatever to think the preacher knew of Gos. Egypt. apart from this one parallel. The introductory clauses in both versions of the saying also help little, since both seem to be redactional, not traditional. In the other fragments from the Egyptian gospel, Salome's questions are in direct discourse and precise, not in subordinate indirect discourse and vague as they are here.[2] The phrase "asked by someone" (ὑπό τινος) in 2 Clem. shows that the introduction to the saying here too is not a direct quotation from a gospel source. Of course the "someone" who questioned Jesus might have been Salome in the tradition and the preacher might have avoided using her name

---

[1]These passages are the following: "For this reason, if you do these things, the Lord said, 'If you are gathered together with me in my bosom and do not keep my commands I will cast you out and say to you, Depart from me, O workers of iniquity, I do not know whence you come.'" (2 Clem. 4:5). "For the Lord said, 'You shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves,' and Peter answered and said to him, 'If then the wolves tear the lambs?' Jesus said to Peter, 'Let the lambs have no fear of the wolves after their death; and do not fear those who slay you and can do nothing more to you, but fear him who after your death has power over body and soul, to cast them into the flames of hell.'" (5:2-4). "For the Lord says, . . . 'Woe unto him on whose account my name is blasphemed.'" (13:2).

[2]Alfred Resch (Agrapha, /TU 5, 4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1889/ 252-253) has made Salome's question quite specific by joining this saying directly with the others from Gos. Egypt. "The things about which she asked" he relates to her question, "How long will people die?" Certainly this is possible, but hardly likely. The use of γνωσθήσεται and the nature of Jesus' response suggest rather that Salome was asking about the appearance of salvation for those already born, not about the end of the enslavement of souls. Her question could even have been about the coming of the Kingdom of God as in 2 Clem.

Perhaps Clement was responsible for the form of the introduction: he used πυνθάνομαι for those who questioned Jesus in the section immediately preceding (Strom. III, 12, 87).

because of her popularity among Gnostics,[1] but we cannot be certain. He frequently was casual in his use of traditions.[2] Only by an analysis of the sayings themselves can we decide their relationship.

"When you tread upon the garment of shame" is missing in 2 Clem.'s version, but it is difficult to know whether or not it was in his source. Even if it were, the preacher might not have used it because of the extremely widespread use of garment imagery to refer to the body in this period. The preacher, for whom the body was not something to be trampled on but to be raised at the resurrection,[3] might have deleted the phrase to avoid its docetic implication.

Certainly the source behind 2 Clem. included "and the outside as the inside."[4] Therefore, the dependence of 2 Clem. on Gos. Egypt must be decided largely by analyzing whether or not the clause "the outside

---

[1]Morton Smith, in discussing the deletion of Salome's name from Mark's lists of women in the passion story by Matthew and Luke, says "The presumption is that Salome was eliminated because persons of whom the canonical evangelists disapproved were appealing to her as an authority. For the late first century this is only a presumption . . . . But for the second century there is no doubt that Salome was popular in heretical circles . . ." (Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark /Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1973/ 190-192). I find this more persuasive also for 2 Clem. than Koester's claim that it did not have Salome in his source because "Die Tendenz der Überlieferung ist, Namen hinzuzusetzen, nicht, Namen fortzulassen oder zu unterdrücken" (Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern, /TU 64; 5, 10; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957/ 103).

[2]The sermon is permeated with allusions to scripture with no introductory statement at all, or with only "God said," "another scripture says" (II, 4), or "we fall under the scripture which says" (XIV, 1). Only once is the name of Jesus' questioner given (Peter, in V, 2-4).

[3]2 Clem. 8, 6; 9, 1-5; 14, 3, 5.

[4]Page 38.

as the inside" originally appeared in Gos. Egypt. and was excluded either by Clement's or Cassianus' quotation of it.

It is unlikely that Clement would have omitted the phrase since he could have allegorized it as easily as the other parts of the saying. For example, he could have taken it to mean, as a good Christian Middle-Platonist, that the body and its passions were to be as obedient to the Λόγος as the believer's ἡγεμονικόν or λογισμός are. It is also unlikely that Cassianus would have omitted it when he could have used it well: the soul receives a new outside, or body, when the believer returns to the primordial incorporeal condition. It seems best then to assume the outside/inside element was absent in Gos. Egypt.,[1] and, if so, the preacher of 2 Clem. probably quoted another source. Because of the radical theological differences between the Corinthian homily and the Egyptian gospel, we would also expect the preacher to have quoted the saying from oral tradition or from a written source with a theology more like his own.[2]

---

[1]This absence of outside/inside in Clement's quotation of Gos. Egypt. might be explained in several ways. It might have been already absent in the tradition Gos. Egypt. used, or it might have dropped out accidentally by haplography in the textual transmission (ὅταν . . . καὶ ὅταν . ... καὶ τὸ . . . καὶ τὸ . . .), or by redactional (or scribal) theological intention: by omitting that element "when the two become one" is immediately followed by "and the male with the female neither male nor female." By this juxtaposition the two becoming one is more clearly taken to be the unification of the sexes. J. B. Lightfoot attributes this interpretative juxtaposition to Cassianus "who thus appears to have connected τὰ δύο ἕν closely with τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας and interpreted the expression similarly" (Apostolic Fathers, I, 2, 238). No doubt Cassianus did interpret the two elements similarly, but it is not clear why he would have omitted a phrase so congenial to his soteriology.

[2]Helmut Koester agrees (Synoptische Ueberlieferung bei den

Interpretation of the Tradition

This theological disagreement between Gos. Egypt. and 2 Clem. is apparent in the latter's interpretation of the saying:

> Now "the two are one" when we speak with one another in truth, and there is but one soul in two bodies without dissimulation. And by "the outside as the inside" he means this, that the inside is the soul and the outside is the body. Therefore, just as your body is visible, so let your soul be apparent in good works. And by "the male with the female neither male nor female" he means this, that when a brother sees a sister he should have no thought of her as a female, nor she of him as a male.[1]

"The outside as the inside" is interpreted as though it read "the inside as the outside." The soul is to become like the body,

---

apostolischen Vätern", 103-105). Karl Donfried in The Setting of Second Clement also argues that 2 Clem. was not dependent on Gos. Egypt., but three of the four arguments he uses prove faulty on examination. (1) He claims that Gos. Egypt. "omitted" the reference to the kingdom at the beginning of the saying. But he does not even entertain the possibility that the introduction to the saying might be the work of Cassianus or Clement. Even if it were the original reading, without a clearer understanding of the context it is impossible to say Salome's question also was not about the kingdom. (2) He claims the preacher would not have dropped a name if it were already in the tradition (so also Koester, 103). But as we have already seen, the preacher might have omitted Salome's name because of her popularity among Gnostic Christians, or just because of his characteristic imprecision with quotations. (3) He also claims that "when you tread upon the garment of shame" was "added by the Gospel of the Egyptians at a more encratite stage in the development of the saying" (p. 77). Apparently he is unaware that the garment saying also appears in the Gos. Thom. (logia 37 and 21), his alleged source for 2 Clem., and there is good reason for thinking it originally might have occupied the same position it has in Gos. Egypt. It is also not difficult to see why 2 Clem. might have omitted it because of its possible docetic implications.

2 Clem. probably was not quoting Gos. Egypt., but that judgment can only be made, as Donfried himself does in his fourth argument, by analyzing whether or not the reference to outside/inside was originally in Gos. Egypt.

[1] 2 Clem. 12: 3-5. The translation is that of Kirsopp Lake, The Apostolic Fathers, vol. 1, LCL, 147-149.

apparent in its good works. This disagreement between the saying and its interpretation no doubt is responsible for the confusion in the textual witnesses,[1] and it radically alters the meaning of the phrase. For Cassianus and probably Gos. Egypt., the body was to have become invisible like the soul, i.e., the soul was to have acquired an immaterial outside; but for the preacher, the soul was to have become visible like the body. The goal of the first was escape from the material world; that of the second, escape from irrelevant spirituality. Like Clement of Alexandria, 2 Clem. interpreted the tradition as moral paraenesis.

But unlike Clement, the author of 2 Clem. interpreted the male and the female as the human sexes, not vices.[2] His exhortation that

---

[1]The textual witnesses widely disagree. The phrase occurs three times in 2 Clem.: (1) the original quotation of the saying, (2) a repetition of the individual phrase to be interpreted, (3) and again when the phrase is interpreted.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Alexandrinus | 1. | The outside as the inside |
| | 2. | The outside as the inside |
| | 3. | The soul is the inside and the body is the outside |
| Syriac | 1. | The outside as the inside |
| | 2. | The inside as the outside |
| | 3. | The soul is the inside and the body is the outside |
| Constantinopolitanus | 1. | The outside as the inside |
| | 2. | The outside as the inside |
| | 3. | The soul is the outside and the body is the inside |

Notice that the original quotation of the saying is consistently "the outside as the inside." In S, the second citation is "the inside as the outside" to conform to the author's interpretation, while C retains "the outside as the inside" even in equating the soul with the outside and the body as the inside! (For the soul being on the outside see Plato, Laws X, 898 E and ExSoul, C.G. II, 131, 16-34.)

[2]This is so even though his interpretation of Gen 1:27 makes "the male" Christ and "the female" the Church (14:2-5).

Christians not regard each other with respect to their sex need not imply sexual asceticism, although other sections of the homily suggest this may have been his intention.[1]

More important than the preacher's interpretation of the tradition is his very use of it. Probably in Corinth at the beginning of the second century, a preacher who defended the resurrection and value of the body used this tradition in a sermon as though it were dominical. In the first half of the second century then, the tradition was used in Egypt and Greece by communities with competing theologies.

## The Gospel of Thomas

### The Garment of Shame

Although the date of composition of the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas is still debated, some of its traditions come from the first century and the first half of the second.[2] A saying almost identical to Gos. Egypt.'s "when you tread upon the garment of shame" appears in

---

[1] Keeping baptism pure and undefiled (6: 9; 7: 1-6; 8: 6), keeping the flesh from corruption (9: 3; 14: 3) are probably what the preacher referred to when he said, "Now I think that I have given no mean advice concerning self-control" (περὶ ἐγκρατείας, 15: 1). The contest for the crown in 2 Clem. 7: 1-6 and 20: 2 might refer to sexual continence as it did in the Syrian church where keeping one's baptism pure also meant abstinence from sex (see Arthur Vööbus, Celibacy, a Requirement for Admission to Baptism in the Early Syrian Church /Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, scholarly series 1; Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1951/ 22-23, 29).

[2] For example Gilles Quispel dates Gos. Thom. about 140 ("Gnosticism and the New Testament," The Bible in Modern Scholarship /ed. James Philip Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965/ 253), as does Henri-Charles Puech (New Testament Apocrypha, 1. 305).

Gos. Thom. 37 and Oxyrhynchus 655, a Greek fragment of that gospel.[1]

| Gos. Egypt. | Ox Pap. 655 | Gos. Thom. 37 |
|---|---|---|
| When Salome inquired | His disciples say to him, | His disciples said, |
| when the things about which she asked would be known | "When will you appear to us, and when will we see you?" | "When will you appear to us, and when will we see you?" |
| the Lord said, "When (ὅταν) | He says, "When (ὅταν) | Jesus said, "When (ὅταν) |
| on the garment of | you take off your garments and are not | you take off your |
| shame | ashamed (lacuna)." | shame, and take your garments and put them under your feet, like these little children and tread on them, then /you will see/ the Son of the Living (One) and you shall not fear."[2] |
| you tread." | | |

[1] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus Logoi and the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas," TS 20 (1959) 551-556. This article also appears in his Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament (London: Chapman, 1971) 355-433. This book has also been printed as volume five in Sources for Biblical Study (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974).

[2] Or, in Greek and Coptic:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| πυνθανομένης | λέγουσιν αὐτῷ | Peje |
| τῆς Σαλώμης | οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ | nefmathētēs je |
| πότε γνωσθήσεται | πότε ἡμῖν ἐμφανης | aš nhoou eknaouōnh |
| τὰ περι ὧν ἤρετο, | ἔσει, | ebol nan |
| | καὶ πότε | auō aš nhoou |
| | σε ὀψόμεθα; | enanau erok |
| ἔφη ὁ κύριος, | λέγει, | Peje īs je |
| ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης | ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε | hotan etetnšakek tēutn |
| ἔνδυμα | καὶ μὴ αἰσχύνθητε. | ehēu mpetnšipe |
| | | auō ntetnfi nnetnštēn |
| | | ntetnkaau ha pesēt |
| | | nnetnouerēte |
| | | nthe nnikouei nšēre šēm |
| πατήσητε . . . . | | ntetnjopjp mmoou |
| | | tot/e tetnau/ a |
| | | pšēre mpetonh |
| | | auō tetnarhote an |

This translation of the Coptic text perhaps needs defending at one point. Influenced by Ox. Pap. 655, the Brill translation and most scholars have taken mpetnšipe for the negative first perfect of šipe and read "are not ashamed." It is quite unlikely, however, that anyone would have translated the Coptic in this way had Ox. Pap. 655 not been available.[1] If the Coptic had a Greek text behind it like Ox. Pap. 655, one would have expected either auō etetnša(n)tmšipe or the conjunctive nnetntmšipe (the verbs that follow in Gos. Thom. are all conjunctive). One certainly would not have expected the negative of the first perfect. Mpetnšipe is more likely to be translated as the object of etetnšakek ehēu, for which one would expect the Greek to have been ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε τὴν αἰσχύνην ὑμῶν, not ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ μὴ αἰσχύνθητε, as in Ox. Pap. 655. It is likely then that the Coptic Gos. Thom. was translated from a different Greek text--one that was closer to the reading in Gos. Egypt.[2]

---

I have intentionally not followed the brilliant but conjectural reconstructions of the next several lines by Joseph A. Fitzmyer (543-546) and Robert A. Kraft ("Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 655 Reconsidered," HTR 54 /1961/ 253-262) who do so on the basis of one theta several lines below. It seems to me reconstructing several lines on the basis of one letter is unreliable methodologically. In any case, the reconstruction of these lines is not essential to our study.

[1]I am indebted to Professor Thomas O. Lambdin for this information. Unfortunately, he did not incorporate this interpretation of mpetnšipe into his own translation in the Nag Hammadi Library: In English (ed. James M. Robinson; San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977) 122.

[2]Why might Ox. Pap. 655 have altered ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε τὴν αἰσχύνην ὑμῶν to ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ μὴ αἰσχύνθητε? The answer lies in the section immediately preceding, which contains a much longer version of Gos. Thom. 36.

Notice also the formal similarities between Gos. Egypt., Ox. Pap.

---

| Ox. Pap. 655 | Gos. Thom. 36 (Coptic) | Gos. Thom. 36 (English) |
|---|---|---|
| λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς, μὴ μεριμνᾶ/ τε ἀ/πὸ πρωὶ ἕ/ως ὀψὲ | peje is mnfi roouš ji htooue ša rouhe | Jesus said, "Do not be anxious from morning until evening, |
| μήτ/ε ἀφ' ἑσπ/έρας ἕως π/ρωὶ μήτε /τῇ τροφῇ ὑ/μῶν τὶ φά- γητε μήτε/ τῇ στ/ο- λῇ ὑμῶν/ τί ἐνδύ- σῃ/σθε, /πολ/λῷ κρεί/σ- σον/ες /ἐστε/ τῶν /κρί- νων ἅτι/να ο/ὐ ξα/ί- νει, οὐδε ν/ήθ/ει. /ἀλλ' ἐν ἔχοντ/ες ἔ/νδ/υ- μα, τί ἐν/δεῖτε/ καὶ ὑμεῖς; τίς ἀν προσθ⟨εί⟩η ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑμῶν; αὐτὸ/ς δ/ώσει ὑμῖν τὸ ἔνδυμα ὑ- μῶν. | auō jin hirouhe ša htooue je ou pe etnataaf hiōt tēutn | and from evening until morning about what you will wear." |

This reconstruction of Ox. Pap. 655 follows that prepared by Harry Attridge for the forthcoming edition of Gos. Thom. in the Brill Nag Hammadi Studies series.

In the Coptic Gos. Thom. nothing is said about concern for food, only for clothing, and the meaning of the command should be interpreted with the following logion where, if "put off your shame" is the correct reading, clothing is shameful and despicable. In Ox. Pap. 655, however, the additions make the saying conform to the meaning of the Q parallel (Matt 6:25-34, Luke 12:22-31). Here the garment is not a shameful thing; it is a gift of God. The emphasis no longer is on not being concerned about clothing but on not being concerned about food or clothing(Jacques-É. Ménard also recognizes this difference in emphasis, L'Évangile selon Thomas /Nag Hammadi Studies, 5; Leiden: Brill, 1975/ 135). To be consistent with this interpretation, Ox. Pap. 655 could not have Jesus say "when you take off your shame," since that implies what is taken off is shameful. But "when you strip and are not ashamed" is consistent. One can disrobe and not be ashamed because what is shameful is one's continual care for food and clothing, not one's divinely given body. It is likely then that the person responsible for Ox. Pap. 655 knew of the kind of Greek text which lies behind the Coptic Gos. Thom. and altered the text slightly and the meaning greatly by attraction to the Synoptic parallels.

655 and Gos. Thom. 37: (1) in each case Jesus is asked a question about the future (πότε . . . ); (2) in each case he responds with ὅταν, a reference to shame and a verb for "taking off" or "treading" in the subjunctive mood and in the second person plural--even in Gos. Egypt. where Salome alone is the questioner. The primary difference between the Coptic Gos. Thom. (unfortunately Ox. Pap. 655 breaks off after αἰσχύνθητε) and Gos. Egypt. is the simile of the little children which also appears earlier in Thomas as an allegory.

Gos. Thom. 21a

Mary said to Jesus,
"Who are your disciples like?"

He said,
"They are like little children
who dwell in a field not theirs
When (ὅταν)
the masters of the field come
they will say, 'Give our field
to us.' They take off their garments
before them,

to release it to them and to give
back their field to them."[1]

Gos. Thom. 37

His disciples said,
"When will you appear to us,
and when will we see you?"
Jesus said,

"When (ὅταν)

you take off your shame
and take your garments
and put them under your feet
like these little children
and tread on them . . . . "

---

[1] logion 21a

peje mariam nis je
enekmathētēs eine nnim

pejaf
eueine nhnšēre šēm
eycelit ausōše etoou an te
hotan eušaei nci njoeis ntsōše
senajoos je ke tnsōše ebol nan
ntoou sekak ahēu mpoumto ebol

logion 37

peje nefmathētēs je
aš nhoou eknaouōnh ebol nan
auō aš nhoou enanau erok
peje is je

hotan

etetnšakek tēutn ehēu
mpetnšipe
auō ntetnfi nnetnštēn

Several items are identical in the two pages: the disciples are called children (nšēre šēm), ὅταν is used to express the temporal condition, and the disciples are told to remove their clothing (kak ehēu). The allegory in logion 21a concerns the disciples (the children) in the world (the field), who take off their bodies (their clothing) when the rulers of the world (the masters of the field, the archons?[1]) demand what is theirs, the physical world.[2]

The Construction of Logia 21 and 22

This story of the children taking off their clothing appears just a few lines above a reference to the two becoming one and the male with the female being neither male nor female. Did the Thomas

---

nthe nnikouei nšēre šēm
nte tnjopjp mmoou

etroukaas ebol nau
nseti tousōše nau

[1]Jacques-É. Ménard (L'Évangile selon Thomas, 112-113) and Howard Clark Kee ("'Becoming a Child' in the Gospel of Thomas," JBL 82 /1963/ 311) take njoeis ntsōše to be the archons.

[2]This interpretation of the allegory is almost universally accepted: Ménard (L'Évangile selon Thomas, 112-113), Kee ("'Becoming a Child' in the Gospel of Thomas," JBL 82 /1962/275), Robert McL. Wilson (Studies in the Gospel of Thomas /London: Mowbray, 1960/ 36-37), and Robert M. Grant (The Secret Sayings of Jesus /Garden City: Doubleday, 1960/ 141). See also Ernest Haenchen, Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums (Theologische Bibliothek Topelmann, 6; Berlin: Topelmann, 1961) 51ff, and Wolfgang Schrage, Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der ältere Kirche, 29; Berlin: Topelmann, 1964) 67-69. Gilles Quispel relates Gos. Thom. 21a directly to Gos. Egypt.: "Die Kleider aber sind die χιτῶνες δερματύνου, die Kleider von Haut, die Leiber. Die Seele soll das Fleish ausziehen. Es ist wohl sehr wahrscheinlich, dass dieses Logion dem Aegypterevangelium entstammt" ("Makarius und das Lied von der Perle," Le origini dello gnosticismo, 635).

evangelist redact a tradition in which these elements were together as they are in Gos. Egypt.? In order to answer this question, we must understand the construction of logia 21 and 22 which are reproduced here for later reference.

> 21a. Mary said to Jesus, "Whom are your disciples like?" He said, "They are like little children who dwell in a field not theirs. When the masters of the field come they will say, 'Give our field to us.' They take off their garments before them, to release it to them and to give back their field to them.
>
> 21b. "Therefore I say: If the lord of the house knows that the thief is coming, he will stay awake before he comes and will not let him dig through into his house of his kingdom to carry away his goods. You then must watch for the world, gird up your loins with great strength lest the brigands find a way to come to you because they will find the advantage which you expect.
>
> 21c. "Let there be among you a man of understanding, when the fruit ripened, he came quickly with his sickle in his hand, he reaped it. Whoever has ears to hear let him hear."
>
> 22a. Jesus saw children who were being suckled. He said to his disciples: "These children who are being suckled are like those who enter the Kingdom." They said to him: "Shall we then, being children, enter the Kingdom?"
>
> 22b. Jesus said to them: "When you make the two one, and you make the inside as the outside, and the outside as the inside, and the above as the below, and when you make the male with the female into a single one, so that the male will not be male and the female not be female. When you make eyes in the place of an eye, and a hand in the place of a hand, and a foot in the place of a foot--an image in the place of an image--then you shall enter the Kingdom."

If the evangelist knew of the tradition in a form similar to that in Gos. Egypt.--i.e., if his tradition had the garment of shame reference in close proximity to the two becoming one, etc.--one should be able to explain the following as redactional additions:

1. "When you tread upon the garment of shame" in the form of a story (21a, parallel 37)

2. The story of the householder and the thief and its interpretation (21b)

3. The plea for a wise interpreter (21c)

4. The introduction to the saying in logion 22 (22a)

The explanation of the first addition depends on an answer to the second: why might the evangelist have inserted the story of the householder/thief (21b)? The story relies on a tradition similar to one in Q,[1] but it has a significant difference in emphasis. Q's story is about the coming of the Son of Man; that of Gos. Thom. is about the coming of the thief, the world, to plunder goods, the believer's "advantage." But why did the evangelist put the story here?

By introducing the story with διὰ τοῦτο the author linked it to the preceding story. A comparison of the two shows that they are indeed related in structure.

| 21 a | 21 b |
|---|---|
| They are like little children<br>who dwell in a field not theirs | If the lord<br>of the house<br>knows that the thief comes<br>he will stay awake before<br>he comes and will not let<br>him dig through into his<br>house of his kingdom<br>to carry away his goods. |
| the masters of the field come<br>they will say | |
| "Give our field to us." | |

---

[1] Matt 24:43-44

But know this, that if the householder had known in what part of the night the thief was coming, he would have watched and would not have let his house be broken into. Therefore you also must be ready; for the Son of man is coming at an hour you do not expect.

Luke 12:39-40

But know this, that if the householder had known at what hour the thief was coming, he would have been awake and would not have left his house to be broken into. You also must be ready; for the Son of man is coming at an hour you do not expect.

When one translates the stories into structural units, it looks like this:

| | |
|---|---|
| Disciple (weak) | Disciple (strong) |
| in enemy's realm (field) | in own realm (house) |
| Enemy comes to take his own | Enemy comes to take not his own |
| Disciple takes off clothes (nonresistance) | Disciple binds on clothes (resistance) |
| Gives up what is not his | Guards what is his |

Taken together, the two stories imply that the disciple is nonresistant (takes off his clothing) before the powers of the material world when they demand their own, the body; but he resists (binds on his clothing) when the world and its powers seek what is not their own, the soul.[1] The story of the householder/thief seems to have been added after that of the children in the field as a counter story to interpret the first.

Now we can explain why the saying about treading on a garment has become a story (21a). The structure for the story seems to have come from the structure of the parable in Q:[2]

1. a householder is in his house
2. a thief comes to take what is not his
3. therefore be on guard

---

[1] Compare the Nag Hammadi Letter of Peter to Philip where Jesus warns the apostles that the Archons are fighting the "inner man;" therefore, he said to them, "gird yourselves with the power of my Father" (C.G. VIII, 137, 25-27).

[2] It is natural for those familiar with the Acts of Thomas to see in this story suggestions of the "Hymn of the Pearl," where a child (βρέφος ἄλαλον) puts off the Egyptians' filthy garment, viz., the body, and leaves it "in their field" (ἀποδυσάμενος τὸ ῥυπαρον ἔνδυμα ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν κατέλειψα χώρᾳ). Acts Thom. 111). Since it is difficult to date the hymn, it is precarious to describe the relations between it and logion 21a. Even if one could prove the hymn were earlier than the Gos. Thom. story, one could not explain the structure of the story through this dependence.

The story about the children in the field was patterned after it.

1. children in a field
2. owners come to take what is theirs
3. therefore, do not resist

By placing the two together and by using antithetical garment imagery, the evangelist skillfully expressed the disciple's tenuous relationship to the material world and his tenacious attitude to the welfare of the soul. The garment image in the householder/thief story is the only element of it which could not have come from Q (or Matthew or Luke), and it is the only element of the story that "when you tread upon the garment of shame" could have provided.[1] It seems then that the author adapted the story of the householder/thief by adding a garment image antithetical to the one in the garment saying, and made that saying into a story modeled on the structure of the householder/thief story, thereby creating carefully balanced counter stories. The reader is alerted to this relationship by the διὰ τοῦτο placed between them, as well as by the addition of the plea for a wise interpreter.

Direct appeals to the reader such as we find in 21c are common in Gos. Thom. For example, "let him who has ears to hear hear" appears also in logia 8, 63, 65 and 96, and the very beginning of the gospel (logia 1-2) is a challenge to understand its meaning. This

---

[1]The phrase "gird up your loins" appears only once in the Synoptic Gospels, in Luke 12:35, just a few lines before the householder/thief story (Luke 12:39-40). This is hardly coincidence. It would appear then that Gos. Thom. took from his source this garment allusion in the vicinity of the story and placed it in the story itself, in the very position occupied by the contrasting garment image in the preceding story.

section with its saying about the sickle (similar to that in Mark 4:29) and "let him who has ears to hear hear" seems to have been added to challenge the Gnostic to grasp the secret meaning; in this case, the meaning hidden in the comparison of the two allegories.

The only other element separating the garment allegory from "when the two become one, etc." is 22a.

> Jesus saw some children taking milk. He said to his disciples, "These children who are taking milk are like those who have entered the Kingdom." They said to him, "Shall we then, being children, enter the Kingdom?"[1]

Instead of separating the tradition, however, this introduction to the two-becoming-one passage ties it together with the garment passage, for in 21a Mary's question, "whom are your disciples like?" was answered, "They are like little children." Apparently the Thomas evangelist freely interpreted a tradition like that in Gos. Egypt. and separated the garment element from the rest in order to place it in opposition to the story of the householder. Even though he separated them from each other, the author tied the major elements of the tradition together by references to children.

## Becoming a Child

But "becoming a child" is not a mere Stichwort; it is essential to the theology of the entire gospel. Rebirth for Cassianus was a

---

[1] One is reminded of course of the Synoptic parallel, "Unless one receives the kingdom of God as a child, he will in no way enter it" (Mark 10:15, parallel Matt 18:3). See also Jn 3:3, 5: "Unless one is born again, he is not able to see the kingdom of God . . . . Unless one is born of water and spirit, he is not able to enter into the kingdom of God."

return to the divine incorporeal image. For Gos. Thom., to become a child was to return to the primordial state and to sexual perfection:[1]

> Jesus said, "Among those born of women, from Adam until John the Baptist, there is no one so superior to John the Baptist that his eyes should not be lowered (before him). Yet I have said, whichever one of you comes to be a child will be acquainted with the Kingdom and will become superior to John."[2]

I agree with Howard Clark Kee:

> Clearly this logion builds on a Q saying which occurs in slightly different forms in Matt 11:12 and Luke 16:16. In Matthew, Jesus describes an era of violence connected with the coming of the kingdom, which era extends "from the days of John the Baptist until now." In Luke, Jesus is reported as looking back to an era which began with the law and the prophets and which terminated with John. But for Thomas, the epoch under consideration began, not with John nor with the law, but with Adam; existence in this epoch is characterized by human propagation. In contrast to those in this epoch who are "born of women" are those who become as a child. The latter achieve a stage beyond--or should one say, prior to?--ordinary existence.[3]

In logion 101 Jesus says, "My mother /[illegible]/, but /My/ true /Mother/ gave me life." Regardless of what originally stood in the lacuna, Jesus is contrasting natural and divine birth. Compare logion 4: "Jesus said, 'The man old in days will not hesitate to ask a small child seven days old about the place of life, and he will live.'"[4] The child seven days old is living before the fall in the first week of creation, in the place of life. When the old man inquires about

---

[1] "'Becoming a Child,'" 307-314. (H. Kee)

[2] Logion 46.

[3] Ibid., 309.

[4] For a discussion of Hippolytus' version of this logion see M. Marcovish, "Textual Criticism on the Gospel of Thomas," JTS 20 (1969) 60-64.

this place, he is reborn and lives: he becomes a child and returns to primordial innocence. This is also the meaning of logion 18.

> The disciples said to Jesus, "Tell us how our end will be." Jesus said, "Have you discovered, then, the beginning, that you look for the end? For where the beginning is, there will the end be. Blessed is he who will take his place in the beginning; he will know the end and will not experience death."

The Two Are One

It is in the context of this soteriology that one must interpret logion 22b, for it is in response to the disciples' question "Shall we then, being children, enter the Kingdom?" that Jesus says:

> A "When you make the two one,
> B and you make
> the inside as the outside
> and the outside as the inside
> and the above as the below,
> C and when you make
> the male with the female into a single one,
> so that the male will not be male
> and the female not be female.
> D When you make
> eyes in the place of an eye,
> and a hand in the place of a hand,
> and a foot in the place of a foot--
> an image in the place of an image--
> E then you shall enter the Kingdom."[1]

---

[1] hotan etetnšar psnau oua
auō etetnšar
psa nhoun nthe mpsa nbol
auō psa nbol nthe mpsa nhoun
auō psa tpe nthe mpsa mpitn
auō šina etetnaeire
mphoout mn tshime mpioua ouōt
jekaas nephoout r hoout
nte tshime r shime
hotan etetnsaeire
nhnbal epma noubal
auō oucij epma nnoucij
auō ouerēte epma nouerēte

When one compares this passage to others in Gos. Thom. it becomes clear that, like becoming a child, the two becoming one is a return to the primordial androgynous condition, much as it was for Cassianus and the Exegesis on the Soul:

> On the day when you were one you became two. But when you become two, what will you do?[1]
>
> Blessed are the solitary (μοναχοί)[2] and elect, for you will find the Kingdom. For you are from it, and to it you will return.[3]
>
> The man old in days will not hesitate to ask a small child seven days old about the place of life, and he will live. For many who are first will become last /Ox. Pap. 654 adds "and the last first"/ and they shall become a single one.[4]

Not only becoming a child and becoming one but every variation of the tradition in Gos. Thom. from the Gos. Egypt. and 2 Clem. version refers to a return to perfection. We have already shown this was the case with the "garment sayings" in logia 21a and 37,[5] but it is also true of the rest of the tradition in logion 22.

---

ouhikō̄n epma nouhikō̄/n̄/
tote tetnabok ehoun etmntero

[1]Logion 11.

[2]The μοναχοί are those who have "become one."

[3]Logion 49.

[4]Logion 4, translation mine. See also logia 106, "When you make the two one, you will become the sons of man," and 23, "I shall choose you, one out of a thousand, and two out of ten thousand, and they shall stand as a single one."

[5]Pages 39-49.

| | Gos. Egypt. | 2 Clem. | Gos. Thom. 22 |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | When (ὅταν) the two become one, | When (ὅταν) the two are one, | When (ὅταν) you make the two one, |
| B | | | and you make the inside as the outside, |
| | | and the outside as the inside, | and the outside as as the inside, |
| | | | and the above as the below, |
| C | | | and when you make |
| | and the male with the female | and the male with the female | the male with the female into a single one, |
| | neither male | neither male | so that the male will not be male |
| | nor female. | nor female . . . . | and the female not be female. |
| D | | | When you make eyes in the place of an eye, |
| | | | and a hand in the place of a hand, |
| | | | and a foot in the place of a foot-- |
| | | | an image in the place of an image-- |
| E | | When you have done these things the Kingdom will come. | then you shall enter the Kingdom. |

Why has Gos. Thom. apparently expanded "the outside as the inside" to "the inside as the outside, and the outside as the inside, and the above as the below"? The answer might be supplied by Peter who, according to the Acts of Peter, requested to be crucified upside down as a symbol of a return to the orientation of the first human. Hanging upside down, he said:

> You must know the mystery of all nature and the beginning of all things, how it came about. For the first man, whose likeness I bear in my appearance, in falling head downwards displayed a manner of birth that was not once--for it was dead, without motion. He, being drawn down--he who also cast his first beginning down to the earth--established the whole of the cosmic system as an image of his creation (or vocation). Upside down

> as he was, he showed what is on the right hand as on the left, and those on the left as on the right, and changed the signs of all their nature so as to consider fair those things which were not beautiful and those things which were really evil to be good. Concerning this the Lord says in a mystery: "Unless you make what is on the right hand as what is on the left and what is on the left hand as what is on the right and what is above as what is below and what is behind as what is before--you will not have knowledge of the Kingdom." This thought then I have declared to you; and the form in which you now see me hanging is the representation of the man who first came to birth. You then, my beloved, both those who hear me now and those that shall hear in time, must leave your former error and turn back again.[1]

In his provocative phenomenological discussion of this text, Jonathan Z. Smith shows how widespread this idea was that divine perspective is the reverse of the human and worldly,[2] and this reversal obviously is present also in Gos. Thom. Notice the similarities between the Jesus tradition quoted in the passage above and logion 22b:

| Acts of Peter | Gos. Thom. |
|---|---|
| Unless (ἐὰν μή) you make | When (ὅταν) you make |
| those on the right | the inside |
| as those on the left | as the outside, |
| and those on the left | and the outside |
| as those on the right | as the inside, |
| and those above | and the above |
| as those below, | as the below. . . . |
| and those behind | |
| as those before, | |
| you will not know the Kingdom. | then you shall enter the Kingdom. |

We cannot and need not resolve here the problems concerning the

---

[1] Acts Pet. 38. By comparing it with the original, I have slightly altered the translation by G. C. Stead in New Testament Apocrypha 2. 319-320.

[2] "Birth Upside Down or Right Side Up?" HR 9 (1970) 281-303.

relationship of these traditions and their parallels.[1] We need only observe that not only are the sayings similar in form but also in meaning. As the Acts of Peter interpreted this inversion to be a return to the upside down condition of the "first human," Gos. Thom. related it to other motifs which imply a return to the primordial state.

This return is also implied by the other extensive addition in logion 22.[2]

---

[1] Acts Phil. is dependent on Acts Pet.: "Do not grieve that I hang in such a manner, for in so doing I bear the form of the first man who was brought to earth head downwards and by the tree of the Cross was made alive, (saved) from the death of his transgression. In this manner I fulfil a rule, for the Lord said to me . . . . 'Unless you make your below the above and the left the right (other MSS read, "the left right and consider the dishonorable honorable," or, "the below into the above and the above into the below and the right into the left and the left into the right") you will not enter my Kingdom" (see Smith, 289-290). GPhil. C.G. II, 67, 30-35: /The Lord/ said, 'I have come to make /the things below/ like the things /above, and the things/ outside like those /inside. I came to unite/ them in that place.'" Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi: "He, being the Christ, who was crucified, by whom the (things) that were on the left hand were (placed) on the right hand, and those which were beneath (were) as those which (were) above, and those which (were) behind as those which (were) before, when He rose from the dead, and trod down Sheol, and by death slew Death." In the Acts of Thomas, as he is about to die, Thomas says: "The inside I have made outside, and the outside (inside), and thy whole fulness has been fulfilled in me. I have not turned back to what is behind, but have advanced to what is before" (147).

[2] The structure of the logion shows that this section D is an addition.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | hotan etetnšar . . . | "When" (ὅταν) + conditional . . . |
| B | auō etetnšar . . . | "and" + conditional . . . |
| | auō . . . | "and" . . . |
| | auō | "and" . . . |
| C | auō šina etetnnaeire . . . | "and when" (ὅταν) + second future . . . |
| | jekaas . . . | "so that" . . . |

> When you make
> eyes in the place of an eye,
> and a hand in the place of a hand,
> and a foot in the place of a foot--
> an image in the place of an image . . . .

In the Letter of Peter to Philip, the Demiurge, in his arrogance, imitated God in wanting "to make an image in the place of an /image/ and a form in the place of a form."[1] Apparently in Gos. Thom. 22, the disciples are being told to undo the Demiurge's substitution of a material image for the primordial immaterial one.

But to understand more clearly what the evangelist meant by image (εἰκών) here, we must compare logia 84 and 85.

> Jesus said, "When you see your likeness, you rejoice. But when you see your images (εἰκών) which came into being before you, and which neither die nor become manifest, how much you will have to bear!"
>
> Jesus said, "Adam came into being from a great power and a great wealth, but he did not become worthy of you. For had he been worthy, /he would/ not /have experienced/ death."

These logia are interpretations of Gen 1:26-27, and they make a distinction between the "likeness" and the "image." The disciples can see their likeness, but their pre-existent image is not yet

---

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| D | hotan etetnsaeire . . . | "When" (ὅταν) + conditional . . . |
| | auō . . . | "and" . . . |
| | auō . . . | "and" . . . |
| E | tote tetnabok . . . . | "Then" (τότε) + first future . . . . |

Sections B and C are dependent on A, while the repetition of and the conditional of the verb at the beginning of D mark it as an independent unit. Therefore, even if one did not know of the tradition in its Gos. Egypt. and 2 Clem. forms one would separate section D from A-C for reasons of syntax.

[1] C.G. VIII, 136, 5-10.

visible to them.[1] Because he died, apparently Adam only participated in God's likeness. But the disciples, because of their eternal images, will not die. In logion 22 the distinction is not between the likeness and the image, but between two kinds of images. Nevertheless, the idea seems to be the same: the disciples someday will trade their present image with its mortal limbs for the image according to which God created the first human.

Each addition to the tradition in Gos. Thom., then, refers to the disciples' return to the perfection of paradise: they must "become like children," make "the male with the female into a single one," "the inside as the outside, etc.," and "an image in the place of an image."

## Conclusion

The following synopsis shows the tradition in its three forms. The stylistic variations in Gos. Thom. 22 are in brackets and the interpretive theological redactions are in parentheses. When one eliminates these, the tradition in each case is almost identical.

| Gos. Egypt. | 2 Clem. | Gos. Thom. 21a & 22 | Gos. Thom. 37 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Mary said to Jesus, "Whom are your disciples like? | His disciples said, "When will you appear to us, and when will we see you?" |

---

[1] According to logion 83 it is hidden in the image of the light of the Father. Compare the "Hymn of the Pearl" where several lines are given to the child's joy at once again seeing seeing his heavenly garment on which the "image (εἰκών) of the king of kings" was engraved.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | He said,<br>"They are like little children who dwell in a field not theirs. When (ὅταν) the masters of the field come they will say, 'Give our field to us.' They take off (their garments) before them, | Jesus said, |
| "When (ὅταν) | | | "When (ὅταν) |
| on the garment of shame | | | you take off your shame and take your garments and put them under your feet like these little children and tread on them... . . ." |
| you tread, | | to release it to them and to give back their field to them . . . ." | |
| and when (ὅταν) the two become one, | When (ὅταν) the two are one, | | "When (ὅταν) /you make/ the two one, |
| | and the outside as the inside | | /and you make/ (the inside as the outside, /and/ the outside as the inside, |
| | | | (and the above as the below.) |
| and the male with the female | and the male with the female | | and /when you make/ the male with the female |
| | | | (into a single one,) /so that/ |
| neither male nor female." | neither male nor female . . . | | the male will not be male and the female not be female. (When you make eyes in the place of an eye, and a hand in the place of a hand, and a foot in the place of a foot-- an image in the place of an image--) |
| | when you have done these things the Kingdom will come." | | then you shall enter the Kingdom." |

Although one might be tempted to reconstruct a more original version of the garment/two-are-one saying from which the now extant

versions might have derived, it is clear from the flexibility with which it was used that reconstructing an "original" saying would at best be clever conjecture and at worst a Procrustean bed. More productive might be an analytical description of the structure of the saying which would emphasize those elements common to each of its citations. This structure remains quite sturdy throughout, in spite of the free alterations, additions, and omissions in the transmission of the tradition.

In each instance, Jesus is asked about the future: "when will . . .?" (Gos. Egypt., 2 Clem., cf. Gos. Thom. 37); or "will we . . .?" (Gos. Thom. 22). Jesus responds with a pejorative garment reference in the form of ὅταν and a verb in the second person plural--even in Gos. Egypt. where the inquirer is singular.[1] Then follows a list of opposites on which the tradition expanded liberally. In each case, however, the lists begin with ὅταν, and the two becoming one, and end with "the male with the female neither male nor female." In Gos. Egypt. and 2 Clem. the verbs in the lists are third person singular, even though the quotation in Gos. Egypt. begins in the second person plural. The list in Gos. Thom. 22 is introduced with the phrase "when you make", but this second person plural framework clearly is secondary. No doubt the more original form is second plural then third singular as in Gos. Egypt. In both 2 Clem. and Gos. Thom. 22 the saying ends with a reference to "the kingdom."

---

[1] Gos. Thom. 21a seems to have altered the second person plural to the third person plural for the sake of the allegory.

Notice that each of the elements the tradition has in common with Gal 3:26-28 persists in at least two of the three versions: a garment allusion in the second person plural (Gos. Egypt. and Gos. Thom. 37), the two becoming one (Gos. Egypt., 2 Clem and Gos. Thom. 22), lists in the third person singular (Gos. Egypt., 2 Clem. and Gos. Thom 22), and "neither male nor female" (Gos. Egypt., 2 Clem. and Gos. Thom 22).

This tradition appeared in Egypt, Greece and perhaps Syria by the first half of the second century.[1] Everywhere it is quoted it is attributed to Jesus, and only Clement of Alexandria questioned its authenticity.

For both Clement and the unknown preacher of 2 Clem., the physical creation was good, created by divine design. Therefore, for the former "the garment of shame" could not mean the body, and for the latter "the two are one," could not mean a return to the

---

[1] Because of its identification with Syrian Didymus Judas Thomas literature and its similarity to Syrian ascetic Christendom, the Syrian provenience of Gos. Thom. has been defended by several scholars, among whom are Henri Charles Puech ("Gnostic Gospels and Related Documents," New Testament Apocrypha, 1 /ed. Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, tr. A. J. B. Higgins et al., ed. Robert McL. Wilson, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963/ 282), Helmut Koester ("Gnomai Diaphorai," Trajectories through Early Christianity, /Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971/ 126-136), Gilles Quispel ("Gnosis and the New Sayings of Jesus," ErJb 38 /1969/ 261-296), and Jacques É. Ménard ("Le milieu syriaque de l'Évangile selon Thomas et de l'Évangile selon Philippe," RevScR, 42 /1968/ 261-266). Barbara Ehlers ("Kann das Thomasevangelium aus Edessa stammen? Ein Beitrag zur Fruhgeschichte des Christentums in Edessa," NovT 12, /1970/ 284-317) challenged this theory, but her ideas have not found wide acceptance (see A. F. J. Klijn, "Christianity in Edessa and the Gospel of Thomas," NovT 14, /1972/ 70-77 for a refutation). Most recently doubts concerning a Syrian origin have been expressed by B. Dehandschutter ("Les paraboles de l'Évangile selon Thomas: la parabole du trésor cache /logion 109/", ETL 47 /1971/ 199-219, especially 204-208).

primordial androgyne. Both moralized the tradition either to encourage the believer to honesty, good works, and sexual continence (2 Clem.), or to rational obedience to the divine logos thereby neutralizing the passions (Clement). The tradition seems to have been used in their communities by virtue of its attribution to Jesus, not by virtue of its theology. Its riddle-like ambiguity made it flexible enough to be used for paraenesis even by those with a different theology.[1] By the time of Origen's First Homily on Luke 1:1, Gos. Egypt. had been rejected by the Egyptian Church; and it seems to have been used primarily by Gnostic groups thereafter. It is unlikely that the tradition would have originated in communities in which it was forced into these moral allegories and from which it disappeared so quietly.

The tradition seems to have been much more at home in the religious communities with which one would identify Gos. Egypt., Gos. Thom., and Julius Cassianus. These three have much more in common than similar interpretations of this saying. Almost everything known about Gos. Egypt. is similar to Gos. Thom., and since so little is known about Gos. Egypt. these similarities are as suggestive as they are striking.[2]

---

[1]Clement of Alexandria says the saying speaks in enigmas or riddles (αἰνίττεται, Strom. III, 13, 93), and Epiphanius says Gos. Egypt. refers to many things spoken by Jesus as mysteries (μὐστηριωδῶς, Adv. Haer. LXII, 2).

[2]A. Both contain the reference to the garment of shame, Strom. III, 13, 92/ Gos. Thom. 21, 37.

B. Both contain references to the two becoming one, Strom. III, 13, 92/ Gos. Thom. 22 (cf. 4, 11, 16, 23, 49, 75, 105-106).

C. Both contain references to Salome, Strom. III, 9, 64, (cf. 6, 45 and Exc. Theod. 67); 9, 66; 13, 92/ Gos. Thom. 61.

Cassianus quoted directly from Gos. Egypt.[1] and shared many theological

---

D. Both reject childbearing and intercourse, Strom. III, 9, 64 (cf. 9, 66; 13, 92)/ Gos. Thom. 46, 79, 101.

E. Both speak pejoratively of women, Strom. III, 9, 63/ Gos. Thom. 114.

F. For both salvation is a return to the primordial state, Strom. III, 9, 66; 6, 45/ Gos. Thom. 18, 19, 50. Gilles Quispel says of this Adam speculation in Gos. Thom., "on trouve les traces dans l'Évangile des Égyptiens (l'arbre qui porte l'amertume de la concupiscence, dans le Paradis) . . . et chez les encratites que combat Clément d'Alexandrie" Aspects du judéo-christianisme , Centre d'études supérieures specialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg, 1[illegible]/Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965/ 47).

G. Both seem to be sayings collections. There is no evidence of either "gospel" having nativity, miracle, passion or resurrection stories.

H. Both were used in Egypt. Gos. Thom. was discovered in Nag Hammadi, Egypt, although several scholars argue it originally was from Syria. Eastern Syrian and Egyptian Christendom in the second century shared several characteristics uncommon elsewhere, but little is known why this might have been the case. Since the founding of the Egyptian church is unknown to us (its attribution to Mark the Evangelist is legend) it is possible that Egypt had originally been evangelized by Syrian Christians who undoubtedly would have brought their sacred books with them. See Arthur Vööbus, Celibacy: A Requirement for Admission to Baptism in the Early Syrian Church, (papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, scholarly series, 1. /Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1951/30.

I. There may be one more connection between these gospels. In the same section of Stromateis book III in which Clement most frequently quotes Gos. Egypt. he quotes a saying attributed to Jesus which does not appear in the canonical gospels: μακάριοι οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες (Strom. III, 16, 99). The only other place the idea of fasting to the world is found is in Gos. Thom. 27 which is also preserved in its Greek form in an Oxyrhynchus Papyrus: ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ(Charles Taylor thinks τὸν κόσμον should be read τοῦ κόσμου, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri and the Apocryphal Gospels, /Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899/ 10 and 13. But see the discussions of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Oxyrhynchus Logoi," TS 20 /1959/ 532-533, Antoine Guillaumont, "Νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον," BIFAO 61 /1962/ 15-23, and Aelred Baker, "Fasting to the World," JBL 84 /1965/ 291-294). Could it be that Clement here too is quoting from Gos. Egypt.? If so, this is another link between that gospel and Gos. Thom.

William R. Schoedel also relates Gos. Thom. to Gos. Egypt. in saying that both seem to have been used by the Naassenes ("Naassene Themes in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas," VC 14 /1960/ 230).

[1] Strom. III, 13, 92 and possibly also III, 6, 45; 9, 63 and 64.

ideas with both it[1] and Gos. Thom.[2] These relationships of course do not mean that all three came from the same community, but they do suggest a common theological orientation and world of discourse. All three understood "the garment of shame" to refer to the body on which the believer must tread to return to perfection. "When the two become one" in each case was the reunification of the sexes. For all three "the male with the female neither male nor female" was the continent consequence of this transformation. By abstaining from sexual relations they contributed to the destruction of "the works of the female". I agree with Cyril C. Richardson when he says Gos. Thom. is "so reminiscent of Julius Cassianus that it may well be that our Gospel presupposes his basic myth."[3] Also, Gilles Quispel writes: "When we have read and understood the views of the Encratites in the

---

[1]Hippolytus says the Naassenes believed, like Cassianus, that the soul descended into the body. He also says this doctrine was derived from their secret books, among which was Gos. Egypt. (Ref. VIII, 7, 8-9). See pages 17-30.

[2]A. For both the soul had a perfect, incorporeal existence before birth, Strom. III, 13, 93; 14, 95/ Gos. Thom. 50, 83-85, 19, 49.

B. Salvation is a return to the primordial state, Strom. III, 16, 101; 13, 92; 14, 95/ Gos. Thom. 4, 18, 19, 22, 37, 56 and 114.

C. For the elect, sexual relations and childbirth are forbidden, Strom. III, 13, 91-93/ Gos. Thom. 46, 55, 79, 99, 101, 105.

D. The resurrection has already come, Strom. III, 6, 48/ Gos. Thom. 51.

[3]"The Gospel of Thomas, Gnostic or Encratite?" (The Heritage of the Early Church; ed. David Neiman and Margaret Schatkin; Orient. Christ. Analecta 195; Rome: Pont. Ins. Studiorum Orientalium, 1973). 75.

third book of the Stromateis, we clearly see that this is the real theology of the Gospel of Thomas."[1]

Whereas the tradition was forced into the interpretations of 2 Clem. and Clement of Alexandria, it fits comfortably into this theology. In attempting to reconstruct the original meaning of the tradition, one should not be surprised if the attempt leads to a community with a theology of creation and restoration similar to those in the Gos. Egypt., Julius Cassianus, and the Gos. Thom. Before we examine the evidence for such a community in which Paul might have moved and from which he might have known the tradition, we must discover, if possible, the life situation from which it came. Did it come from Jesus or did it come from the early church and its religious life?

---

[1]"Gnosticism and the New Testament," The Bible in Modern Scholarship, (ed. James Philip Hyatt; Nasvhille: Abingdon, 1965) 256. Although he distinguishes too clearly Encratism from Gnosticism, Quispel is right in relating Gos. Thom. to Cassianus and his coreligionists in Strom. III.

# CHAPTER III

## THE HISTORY AND SITZ IM LEBEN OF THE GARMENT/TWO-ARE-ONE TRADITION

### Sitz im Leben Jesu?

Although the garment/two-are-one tradition was consistently attributed to Jesus, it is diametrical to Jesus' teaching, particularly his teaching on divorce in Mk 10:1-12. This pericope, though bearing signs of Marcan redaction,[1] probably preserves authentic tradition.[2] Here Jesus refers to both Gen 1:27 and 2:24,

---

[1]The Marcan elements are: (1) the use of the LXX reading for Gen 2:24, and (2) vss. 10-12 where Jesus says men or women who divorce and remarry commit adultery against their mates. This application to both the man and the woman would have been unlikely in Palestinian Judaism where only the man had the right of divorce (Israel Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels /2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1917/ 1. 72), but would be commonplace in Mark's Greco-Roman milieu (D. E. Nineham, St. Mark /London: Penguin, 1975/ 266). Also, the device of following a public statement by Jesus with his private explanation of it to the disciples later, as here in Mk 10:10-12, is Marcan (cf. 4:13-20).

[2]Palestinian Rabbis in the first century had discussed Deut 24:1-4, the Pentateuchal justification for divorce, just as Mark records it. The school of Shammai argued that the "indecency" (Deut 24:1, ʿerwaṯ dābār) referred only to sexual unfaithfulness; whereas that of Hillel said a man could divorce his wife even if she burn his dinner (Gittin 9:10). For both, only the husband had the right to a divorce (see also Josephus Antiq XV, 7, 10; XVIII, 5, 4). Jesus responded using Gen 1:27 and 2:24, apparently in order to show the equality of marital responsibility. Gen 1:27 also appears in the context of divorce in CDC 4:20-5:2 from Qumran. The use of these Biblical quotations in Mark 10 is attributed to Jesus by Rudolph Bultmann (History of the Synoptic Tradition /tr. John Marsh; New York: Harper and Row, 1976/ 49-50), Joachim Jeremias

just as he does in the garment/two-are-one tradition; however, in Mk 10 he uses these texts to sanction marriage, not to forbid it.

> But Jesus said to them, "For the hardness of your hearts he wrote you this commandment. But from the beginning of the creation 'He made them male and female.' 'For this reason a man will leave his father and mother,[1] and the two will be one flesh,' so no longer are they two but one. Therefore, what Gos has yoked together let no human separate."[2]

David Daube has argued that the reference to Gen 2:24 here is secondary. The more original form was: "He made them male and female; therefore, what God has yoked together let no human separate." Here, so Daube claims, Jesus presupposed the primordial androgyne myth and used it to prohibit divorce.[3] But the originality of the quotation of Gen 2:24 has been reaffirmed by several scholars,[4] and rightly so. In the many ancient references to Gen 1:27 as the creation of an androgyne, it is never used to prohibit divorce, but it is frequently used to prohibit marriage.

---

(New Testament Theology /tr. John Bowden; New York: Scribner's, 1971/ 224-225), and Robert Banks (Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition /Cambridge: The University Press, 1975/ 147-149).

[1]Most MSS add "and be joined to his wife," but Vaticanus and Sinaiticus omit it.

[2]Mk 10:5-9.

[3]The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: Athlone, 1956) 71ff. See also his "Evangelisten und Rabbinen," ZNW 48 (1957) 125-126, and Paul Winter, "Genesis 1:27 and Jesus' Saying on Divorce," ZNW 70 (1958) 260-261.

[4]Heinrich Baltensweiler, Die Ehe im Neuen Testament: Exegetische Untersuchungen über Ehe, Ehelosigkeit und Ehescheidung. (Arbeiten zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 52; Zurich: Zwingli, 1967) 57-59, and Robert Banks, Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition (Cambridge: The University Press, 1975) 147-148.

Furthermore, Daube's reasons for rejecting the reference to Gen 2:24 are methodologically suspect.[1]

If the reference is in fact authentic, Jesus' response was antithetical to the notion of a primordial bisexual human. In the beginning God created two humans, one male and the other female. They become one in the marriage union; therefore, marriage and sex are divinely instituted and divorce is precluded. For the garment/two-are-one tradition, however, in the beginning God created an androgyne later divided by their Fall. When they transcend the physical world, the divided halves again become one; therefore, marriage and sex are precluded.

It is true of course that in some Synoptic logia Jesus challenges traditional domestic relationships--even Matthew's alterations of the divorce passage in Mark 10 make it an argument for asceticism[2]--but no outright rejection of marriage or disdain for the body can claim authenticity.[3] Therefore, it is quite

---

[1]See Banks, 147-148.

[2]Matt 19:1-12.

[3]Luke altered Mark 12:25 ("For when they rise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven," parallel Matt 22:30) to read "the sons of this age marry and are given in marriage, but those worthy to receive that age and the resurrection of the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage, nor are they able to die, for they are like angels, and being sons of the resurrection they are sons of God" (20:34-36). Here Jesus prohibits marriage not only after the resurrection, but also in the present. This is Luke's idea, not Jesus'.

unlikely Jesus was responsible for the garment/two-are-one tradition.[1] We must look elsewhere.

## Sitz im Leben der Kirche

As we have seen in chapter two, the tradition seems to have come from communities related to Julius Cassianus and Gos. Thom. Furthermore, we have seen that the tradition implies the believer must transcend the body and return to the primordial, sexually united condition. Therefore, by understanding by what act the believer attained this new condition in communities related to Cassianus and Gos. Thom., presumably one might also discover the Sitz im Leben of the tradition.

Unfortunately, little is known about Cassianus and his circle which Clement simply calls the Docetists.[2] But Clement gives another clue: Cassianus "came from the school of Valentinus."[3] There is no reason to doubt the reliability of this statement, since the Valentinians also believed in the descent of the soul into the body and the material world, and the ascent back to the

---

[1] I have found no scholar willing to attribute it to Jesus, and the following judge it to be apocryphal: Alfred Resch, Agrapha, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1889) 253-54, James Hardy Ropes, Die Sprüche Jesu, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1897) 131-132, Theodor Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons (2 vols.; Erlangen: Deichert, 1888-92), 2. 2. 941, and Joseph B. Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers 1. 2, 237. Joachim Jeremias apparently thinks it is so obviously apocryphal that he does not even discuss it in Unknown Sayings of Jesus, (tr. Reginald H. Fuller; London: S.P.C.K., 1957).

[2] Strom. III, 13, 92.

[3] Ibid.

world of the Father before death. Fortunately for us, one also finds the images of the garment/two-are-one tradition used in these circles with enough frequency to allow precision about their use. In the subsequent discussion we will examine not only the more classical Valentinian sources such as the Gospel of Truth, the Gospel of Philip and the Excerpts from Theodotus, but also sources whose connections with Valentinus are more tenuous, such as the Treatise on Resurrection, the Exegesis on the Soul and the Tripartite Tractate--all from the Nag Hammadi collection.

We must also attempt to understand by what act this recovery of the primordial state was achieved in the communities responsible for Gos. Thom. Apparently, the Gospel was a product of early Syrian Christianity, for it is one part of a trilogy called the Didymus Judas Thomas literature, which also includes Thomas the Contender and the Acts of Thomas. This last work is of undisputed Syrian provenience. Therefore, our sources for reconstructing the Sitz im Leben of the garment/two-are-one tradition in these communities will include this Thomas literature, the Odes of Solomon, and later Syrian Fathers when they preserve earlier local tradition.

## The "School of Valentinus"

Like Cassianus, the Valentinians Ptolemy and Theodotus both called the body a "coat of skins" given the immaterial Adam at

his Fall.[1] Furthermore, Valentinians too believed that before death one must take off the body and again become clothed in light. The Gospel of Philip says: "Those who say they will die first and then rise are in error. If they do not first receive the resurrection while they live, when they die they will receive nothing."[2] And again we find: "While we are in this world it is fitting for us to acquire the resurrection for ourselves, so that when we strip off the flesh we may be found in the rest."[3]

One acquired resurrection in baptism. For example, the Treatise on Resurrection alludes to baptism when it says: "as the Apostle said, 'We suffered with him, and we arose with him, and we

---

[1]Ptolemy according to Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I, i, 10, and Tertullian, Adv. Valen. 24; 3; and Theodotus according to Clement Exc. Theod. 55. Tertullian probably had Valentinians in mind when he discussed those who believed this in De Res. 7. Origin (Contra Celsum 4, 40) and Tertullian (De Cultu I, 1) both seem to have been attracted to this idea.

The notion that Adam originally had been clothed in light and only later had been clothed in skin also appears in early Jewish midrash. Louis Ginzberg cites the evidence for this in The Legends of the Jews, (5 vols; tr. Henrietta Szold; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Soceity of America, 1925) 5, 97, n. 69: "PRE /Pirke Rabbi Eleazar/ 14; Targum Yerushalmi Gen 3:7 and 21. The older Haggadah speaks of 'garments of light,' which the first 'pair' wore before the fall of man, as bestowed upon them by God, in accordance with Gen 3:21, where ʿôr ('skin') is explained as though it were written ʾôr ('light'). This verse is said to refer to the state before the fall." See also 2 Enoch 22:8; 4 Ezra 7:97 and 125; Apoc. Mos. 20:1-3; Asc. Isa. 9:10. For Christian sources see Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III, 23, 5, and Tertullian, Pud. 9.

[2]GPhil, C.G. II, 73, 1-4. The Treatise on Resurrection encourages Rheginos not "to live in conformity with his flesh for the sake of unanimity, but flee from the divisions and the fetters, and already you have the resurrection" (C.G. I, 49, 13-16).

[3]GPhil, C.G. II, 66, 16-19. See also C.G. II, 85, 21-86, 18.

went to heaven with him.' Now if we are manifest in this world wearing him, we are that one's beams."[1] The Tripartite Tractate calls baptism "'the light which does not set and is without flame,' since it does not give light, but those who have worn it are made into light. They are the ones whom he wore."[2] That is, they once again wear the primordial garment through baptism. The imagery used here is no doubt related to the symbolic use of garments in early Christian baptisms. The initiate removed the pre-baptismal garment representing the old life, was baptized naked, and put on a new white garment representing the new life. This symbolism was so important that baptism was even called "the garment," τὸ ἔνδυμα:[3]

---

[1] C.G. I, 45; 24-31.

[2] C.G. I, 129, 1-5. Notice also the PetPhil., C.G. VIII, 137, 6-9. "When you strip off from yourselves what is corrupted, then you will become illuminators in the midst of dead men." DialSav., C.G. III, 16-20 says: "When you remove envy from you, then you will clothe yourselves with the light and enter into the bridal chamber." Notice also GPhil., C.G. II, 70, 5-9: "The powers do not see those who are clothed in the perfect light, and consequently are not able to detain them. One will clothe himself in this light sacramentally in the union." Irenaeus records that some, as a part of their baptismal rite, said that at his baptism Jesus clothed (ἐνδύω) himself in the loins of the light of Christ" (Adv. Haer. I, 21, 3). Putting off darkness and putting on light also appear in baptismal contexts in Mandean sources. "Manda created me, Uthras established (or: baptized) me, they clothed me with radiance, and they wrapped me in light. Hazazban (?) held out to me the crown for my head, to me NN, and on these souls, who descended to the Jordan and are baptized . . ." (Werner Foerster, Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts, /tr. Robert McL. Wilson; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972-74/ 2, 279). "And I baptize him in the white Jordan of living and brilliant waters, clothe him in garments of radiance, and cover him in turbans (or: coverings) of light" (Foerster II, 308).

[3] TriTrac., C.G. I, 128, 19-24. See also Pseudo-Clementine Homily VIII, 22; Recognitions IV, 35 and Acts Barn. 12-13.

Furthermore, in Valentinian initiations one not only put on light, one also reunited the sexes. As the Gospel of Philip says:

> The powers do not see those who are clothed in the perfect light, and consequently are not able to detain them. One will clothe himself in this light sacramentally in the union.
>
> If the woman had not separated from the man, she would not die with the man. His separation became the beginning of death. Because of this Christ came to repair the separation which was from the beginning and again unite the two, and to give life to those who died as a result of the separation and unite them. But the woman is united to her husband in the bridal chamber. Indeed those who have united in the bridal chamber will not longer be separated. Thus Eve separated from Adam because she was never united with him in the bridal chamber.[1]

This sacrament of the bridal chamber seems to be a rite separate from baptism here, but the similarities between the two are apparent. I agree with Michael A. Williams:

> In attempting to distinguish between names /of the sacraments/, one must be careful to avoid the presumption that functions are also thus distinct . . . . it is apparent that Philip employs sacramental imagery with a great deal of freedom, as though the author were viewing the initiation process as a continuous whole, rather than insisting upon analytically isolating the precise contribution of each sacrament.[2]

---

[1] C.G. II, 70, 5-22. Compare also C.G. II, 68, 22-26: "When Eve was still in Adam death did not exist. When she was separated from him death came into being. If he again becomes complete and attains his former self, death will be no more." See also Gos. Thom. 75: "it is the solitary who will enter the bridal chamber." DialSav, C.G. III, 138, 16-20 says: "But when you remove envy from you, then you will clothe yourselves with the light and enter into the bridal chamber."

[2] "Realized Eschatology in the Gospel of Philip," Restoration Quarterly 14 (1971) 12-13. But see Hans-Georg Gaffron (Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sakramente /Bonn, 1969/ 220-223), and Eric Segelberg ("The Coptic-Gnostic Gospel According to Philip and its Sacramental System," Numen, 7 /1960/ 189-200), both of whom make baptism and the bridal chamber distinct rites.

This judgment is supported by the Tripartite Tractate where the two rites are explicitly identified:

> The baptism which we previously mentioned is called "garment of those who do not strip themselves of it," for those who will put it on and those who have received redemption wear it . . . . It is also called "bridal chamber" because of the agreement and individual state of those who know that they have known him.[1]

According to the Excerpta ex Theodoto, the angels are male, humans are female. The angels already have been baptized, and when the human is baptized he or she becomes united with his or her angelic counterpart.

> The males were drawn together with the Logos, but the female, having become male, unites itself with the angels and enters into the Pleroma. Therefore it is said that the woman is changed into a man and the Church here below into angels.[2]

---

[1] C.G. I, 128, 19-24, 33-36. The perfection of unity pervades this curious document: "When the redemption was proclaimed, the perfect man received knowledge immediately so as to return in haste to his unitary state, to the place from which he came, to return there joyfully, to the place from which he came, to the place from which he flowed forth" (C.G. I, 123, 3-11). "For when we confessed the kingdom which is in Christ, we escaped from the whole multiplicity of forms and from inequality and change. For the end will receive a unitary existence just as the beginning, where there is no male nor female, nor slave and free, nor circumcision and uncircumcision, neither angel nor man, but Christ is all in all" (132, 16-18 see also 122, 12-24).

[2] 21; see also 22. The union with the angels also appears in 36: "Our angels were of course brought forth in unity, they say, being one because they came forth, from one. But since we were divided, Jesus baptized himself (ἐβαπτίσατο), that the undivided might be divided, until he unites us with them in the Pleroma, in order that we, the many become one (οἱ πολλοὶ ἓν γενόμενοι), may all of us be united with the one which for our sakes was divided." Presumably the undivided which was divided at Jesus' baptism was Jesus' separation from his heavenly counterpart, just as at our baptism we are united with ours. According to Irenaeus, Marcosians baptized "into union (εἰς ἕνωσιν ), and redemption, and communion (κοινωνίαν) with the Powers" (Adv. Haer. I, 21, 3).

We have already seen a similar theology in Cassianus and especially in the Exegesis on the Soul.[1] Originally the soul was virgin and bisexual, but with her fall into the material world, she became alienated from her heavenly syzygy and lost her virginity.

> But when she perceives the straits she is in and weeps before the Father and repents, then the Father will have mercy on her and he will make her womb turn from the external domain and will turn it again inward, so that the soul will regain her proper character. For it is not so with a woman. For the womb of the body is inside the body like the other internal organs, but the womb of the soul is around the outside like the male genitalia, which are external.
>
> So when the womb of the soul, by the will of the Father, turns itself inward, it is baptized and is immediately cleansed of the external pollution which was pressed upon it, just as /garments, when/ dirty, are put into the /water and/ turned about until their dirt is removed and they become clean. And so the cleansing of the soul is to regain the /newness/ of her former nature and to turn herself back again. That is her baptism (emphasis mine).[2]

Much about this passage remains obscure,[3] but several observations may safely be made which are germane to this study. First, the soul's purification is from the uncleanness of the outside, i.e., the body and the material world. Second, this purification, which is like washing a garment, takes place in baptism. Third, baptism

---

[1] Pages 27-29.

[2] C.G. II, 131, 16-132, 2.

[3] I agree with William C. Robinson: "I do not understand this figure of speech /of the turning of the womb of the soul/ of itself and in the present context" ("The Exegesis on the Soul," NovT. 12, /1970/ 115). Frederick Wisse suggests, "The external position of the womb probably symbolizes that the soul has unnaturally exposed its intimate parts, almost to invite defilement" ("On Exegeting 'The Exegesis on the Soul,'" Les textes de Nag Hammadi /ed. Jacques-É. Ménard, Nag Hammadi Studies, 7; Leiden: Brill, 1975/ 73).

returns the soul to her previous physical condition--including bisexuality--as the following text explains:

> But then the bridegroom, according to the Father's will, came down to her into the bridal chamber, which was prepared. And he decorated the bridal chamber.
>
> For since that marriage is not like the carnal marriage, those who are to have intercourse with one another will be satisfied with that intercourse. And as if it were a burden they leave behind them the annoyance of physical desire and they do not /separate from/ each other, but this marriage /. . ./, but /once/ they unite /with one another/, they become a single life. Wherefore the prophet said concerning the first man and the first woman,
>
> "They will become a single flesh" (Gen 2:24).
>
> For they were originally joined to one another when they were with the Father before the woman led astray the man, who is her brother. This marriage has brought them back together again and the soul has been joined to her true love, her real master, as it is written
>
> "For the master of the woman is her husband" (Gen 3:16).[1]

Here then we find clear confirming evidence that, in Valentinian circles, speculation on the outside becoming inside and the return of the two sexes to their primordial unity was directly related to baptism.[2] This was the anthropology of Julius Cassianus, and

---

[1] C.G. II, 132:24-133:10. Notice the similarity of this passage to Pistis Sophia (BG 122, 6ff): "I have come here that they may be united with that Spirit and with the breath, and the two become one as from the beginning."

[2] See also Pseudo-Clementine Homily XI where, in a discussion of baptism, Matt 23:25ff ("Cleanse first the inside of the cup and the platter that their outside may be clean also") is interpreted as follows: "For when the mind has been enlightened by knowledge, the catachumen can be good, and then follows the attainment of purity. For out of the disposition inside (ἔσω) comes the right care of the body outside (ἔξω) . . . . Thus the pure is able to purify the inside and the outside (τὸ ἔσω καὶ τὸ ἔξω, some texts read τὸ ἔξω καὶ τὸ ἔσω). But the one who purifies only the outside (τὰ ἔξω) does this looking for praise before humans" (29:3-4). This of course is not necessarily evidence of a direct knowledge of our tradition, but it confirms the thesis that outside/inside language was not foreign to early Christian baptismal texts.

probably also his sacramentology.

## Early Syrian Christianity

The myth of the soul's separation, descent into the material world, and ultimate return to her primordial incorporeal unity appears in ascetic Thomas communities as well. The "Hymn of the Pearl," embedded in the Acts of Thomas,[1] is the story of the soul, the king's son, who was sent into Egypt, the material world, to take the desired pearl. Before departing, the lad took off his splendid robe and the toga which he says was "woven to the measure of my stature."[2] It becomes clear that this robe is his heavenly alter-ego, or syzygy. To disguise himself, he dresses himself in the Egyptians' attire, that is, in a material body, and subsequently forgets his mission. A letter from his parents reminds him of his mission and his heavenly robe, and immediately he takes the pearl, and, "having stripped off the filthy garment" (ἀποδυσάμενος τὸ ῥυπαρὸν ἔνδυμα), he leaves it "in their field" and speeds to his father's kingdom. But his reunion with his father is not nearly as important for the hymn as the literal "reunion" with his robe.

> Indeed I had forgotten its brightness, for when I was a child and a young man I left it in my father's palaces. But immediately when I saw the garment, it became like me, as a reflection in a mirror, and I saw myself wholly in it. And I knew and saw myself because of it, because often we had been divided, although we both were from him (or, it) and again we were one in one form. Also the treasurers who had brought the garment to me I found to be two, but one form was on both:

---

[1] Acts Thom. 108-113.

[2] Ibid., 108.

> one royal sign was on them both . . . . And the image of the king of kings was entirely on it (the robe).[1]

In this version of the myth, the two that become one are not the two sexes or the female soul and her male heavenly counterpart, but the lad and his heavenly robe of light. Nonetheless, the underlying soteriology and anthropology are identical: before death (here by receiving the heavenly revelation), the soul returns to its place of origin and is joined to its heavenly counterpart. Again elsewhere in the Acts of Thomas the apostle implies true believers have already left the body:

> For while we are in a body we are not able to speak or reveal those things to be given our souls.[2]

We are told this means that one cannot speak of true light, wealth, precious garments, or expensive meals because these images are all sense-perceptible. But Thomas shows he and his coreligionists are not forbidden to speak of them when he says:

> But we speak of the world above, of God and angels, of the watchers and saints, of ambrosial food, and of drink from the true vine, and of garments that remain and do not grow old, of that which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, and which has not come to the hearts of sinful humans, which God has prepared for those who love him. Of these things we speak; these we proclaim (emphasis mine).[3]

They can proclaim them because they are no longer in the body. Also in the Gospel of Thomas and Thomas the Contender, the revealer

---

[1] Ibid., 113.

[2] Ibid., 36.

[3] Ibid.

commands the disciples to leave the body.[1] This departure probably was symbolized by baptism.

The Odes of Solomon were compiled in Syria during the same period, and here again the images of putting off the body and of putting on light (or incorruption, or the Spirit, or a new body) appear frequently in the context of baptism.[2]

> And I was clothed with the clothing of your Spirit,
> And I took away from me my garments of skin,[3]

---

[1] E.g., Gos. Thom. 21, 27 and ThCont., C.G. III, 145, 1-17.

[2] James Rendel Harris and Alphonse Mingana deny the Odes contain references to baptism (The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, 1, /Manchester: The University Press, 1912/ 187-197), while John Henry Bernard suggests the Odes are best explained when they are all interpreted in light of Syrian baptismal practices ("The Odes of Solomon," JTS 12, /1911/ 1-31, and The Odes of Solomon /Texts and Studies 8, 3; Cambridge: The University Press, 1912/ 3). Eric Segelberg sides with Bernard: "In light of later research it is difficult to maintain the negative attitude of Harris-Mingana. In the Odes there are a good many references to baptismal ritual which enable us to reconstruct a good deal of the baptismal ritual of the Odes" ("The Baptismal Rite according to some of the Coptic-Gnostic Texts of Nag-Hammadi," International Conference on Patristic Studies /ed. F. L. Cross; Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literature, 80, Studia Patristica 5; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962/ 118). Surely baptism is behind these passages: "For who shall put on your grace and be rejected? Because your seal is known; and your creatures are known to it. Your host possess it, and the elect archangels are clothed with it" (4:6-8). "Your flesh may not understand that which I am about to say to you, nor your garment that which I am about to show you. Keep my mystery, you who are kept by it. Keep my faith, you who are kept by it" (8:9-10).

[3] Compare this to Jerome's Epistle to Fabiola 19: "And when ready for the garment of Christ, we have taken off the coats of skins (tunicae pelliceae=χιτῶνας δερματίνους), then we shall be clothed with a garment of linen which has nothing of death in it, but is wholly white so that, rising from baptism, we may gird our loins in truth and the entire shame of our past sins may be covered" (as quoted by Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Garments of Shame," History of Religions 5. /1966/ 232-233).

Because your right hand lifted me up,
And you made pain pass from me (25:8-9).

And I rejected the folly cast upon the earth,
And stripped it off and cast it from me.
And the Lord renewed me with his garment,
And possessed me by his light.
And from above he gave me immortal rest,
And I became like the land that blossoms and rejoices (11:10-12).

According to his generosity he gave to me,
And according to his excellent beauty he made me.
I put on incorruption through his name,
And I took off corruption through his grace (15:7-8).

And I put off darkness,
And put on light.
And even I myself acquired members.
In them there was no sickness
Or affliction or suffering (21:3-4).

The result of this new condition was sexual asceticism, as it was for Cassianus. By examining early Syrian liturgies, Arthur Vööbus and Robert Murray have demonstrated that asceticism was in fact a requirement for admission to baptism:

> With regards to the sacraments, baptism became the prerogative of the ascetic elite only. It became the sign of those who had courage to make the radical decision to turn their backs decisively upon the world and walk in conformity with new standards.[1]

---

[1] The History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East; Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1 (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1951) 90. See also Robert Murray, "The Exhortation to Candidates for Ascetical Vows at Baptism in the Ancient Syriac Church," NTS 21 (1974) 59-80. If Ludger Bernard's attractive suggestion is correct, Clement of Alexandria's Strom. III, 82, 6 contains the theology of Tatian ("An Klemens von Alexandrien Stromateon III, 82, 6: Eine quellenkritische Studie," Perennitas: Beiträge zur christlichen Archäologie und Kunst, zur Geschichte der Literatur, der Liturgie und des Mönchtums sowie zur Philosophie des Rechts und zur politischen Philosophie/ed. Hugo Rahner and Emmanuel von Severus; Münster: Aschendorff, 1963/ 11-18). In this passage a contrast is made between the many washings after intercourse decreed

For instance, Tertullian wrote of Marcion who was influential in Syria:[1] "The flesh is not . . . immersed in the water of the sacrament, unless it be in virginity, widowhood or celibacy, or has purchased by divorce a title to baptism."[2] But mainstream Syrian Christianity too recognized this requirement. Ephraem said:

> See, (people) being baptized and becoming
> virgins and consecrated ones,
> having gone down, been baptized and put on
> that single "Only One."[3]

Asceticism is also a requirement for baptism in the Acts of Thomas, as Vööbus has shown:

> The relation between baptism and celibacy will be illustrated . . . in an episode with Vazan, a young man, who is also a convert of Thomas. He reveals his ripe intention to be baptized. He confesses to the Apostle that he has been compelled to marry and that he has kept his virginity during the whole marital period. All this sounds as though he feels that he is entitled to receive baptism because he has already shown himself capable of keeping his virginity, which is the condition laid down for the reception of this sacrament.[4]

Similarly Siphor promises Thomas, "I and my wife and my daughter

---

by Moses and the single baptism which has purified one from intercourse forever.

[1]See Walter Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971) 21-38.

[2]Adv. Marc. I, 29.

[3]Baptismal hymn 8 from "On Ephiphany," as quoted in Murray, 64. The text appears in Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania)(ed. Edmund Beck; CSCO 186, Syr. 82; Louvain: Secretariat du Corpus SCO, 1959) 173.

[4]Celibacy: A Requirement for Admission to Baptism in the Early Syrian Church, (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1951) 27-28.

will live henceforth in holiness and (sexual)[1] purity, and in one mind. I beg you that we may receive the seal from you."[2] After her baptism, Mygdonia, in the Acts of Thomas, rejects her husband's advances and contrasts her marriage to him and that to Christ. Here, as in Valentinianism, baptism is identified with the bridal chamber:

> Thou has seen that marriage which passed away /and remains here (on earth)/, but this marriage abides forever . . . . That bridal chamber is taken down, but this remains forever . . . . Thou art a bridegroom who passes away and is destroyed, but Jesus is a true bridegroom, abiding immortal forever.[3]

This contrast of marriages also appears in sections 12-14 where a couple in a bridal chamber about to consummate their wedding are told by Thomas:

> But if you obey and keep your souls pure unto God, you shall have living children whom these hurts do not touch, and shall be without care, leading an undisturbed life without grief or anxiety, waiting to receive that incorruptible and true marriage . . . and in it you shall be groomsmen entering into that bridal chamber which is full of immortality and light.[4]

The couple refrain and tell her father in unison:

> Truly, father, we are greatly in love, and have been persuaded by the Lord . . . we have been rescued from temporary intercourse and corruption. Wherefore we have been yoked together in a firm and true marriage and the garment of shame (τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς αἰσχύνης) has been taken from us.[5]

---

[1]For a defense of "purity" here meaning sexual abstinence see Murray, "Exhortation," p. 74.

[2]Acts Thom. 131.

[3]Ibid., 124.

[4]Ibid., 12.

[5]Ibid., 14.

Surely this text is a conscious interpretation of our garment/two-are-one tradition. To my knowledge this is the only place outside of direct references to the garment/two-are-one tradition in which τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς αἰσχύνης appears in early Christian literature. But the claim for a conscious dependence is not merely lexical. Textual authorities for this section may be divided into two traditions.[1] Τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς αἰσχύνης appears only in the shorter tradition,[2] and it is also only in the shorter that "the two become one." When the king, her father, enters the nuptial chamber, he sees the couple sitting apart from each other "unyoked," διεζευγμένοι, which can also mean "divorced." In response to his question why they seem so cold to each other, they reply in unison (ὁμοθυμαδὸν λέγουσιν[3]) that they have been "yoked together," συνεζεύχθημεν, in a true marriage.[4] According to the shorter text then, in the worldly bridal chamber the pair are separated, unyoked, but in the

---

[1]It is unnecessary for our purposes to solve the complex relations between these textual traditions and their numerous variants. My preference would be to take the shorter version as the earlier, since by giving both the bride and the groom their own speeches, the longer tradition was able to insert a long prayer of thanksgiving. Also, I can detect no reason for the shorter to have omitted the prayer. Actually, the case for the dependence on the garment/two-are-one tradition is as strong or stronger if the opposite were the case: the alterations of the longer text by the shorter would then show a conscious reworking toward the tradition by altering τὸ ἔσοπτρον to τὸ ἔνδυμα, by inserting the word play on διαζεύγνυμι and συζεύγνυμι, and by having the nuptial couple speak in unison.

[2]The longer reads τὸ ἔσοπτρον τῆς αἰσχύνης or τὸ ἔργον τῆς αἰσχύνης.

[3]In the longer they reply separately.

[4]Συζεύγνυμι also is in the longer text, but there the couple are not yoked together; the bride is yoked to Christ.

true bridal chamber--i.e., baptism--they are yoked together. They have removed the garment of shame and the two have become one; therefore, no longer can they respond to each other as male and female.

Therefore, in both Valentinianism, from which Cassianus came, and in Syrian Christendom, from which Gos. Thom. came, the garment/two-are-one tradition would have been interpreted similarly. At baptism the initiate symbolized his or her flight from the body by removing the pre-baptismal "garment of shame," and symbolized making the outside like the inside, putting on light or being reunited with the heavenly self, by putting on the post-baptismal garment. One demonstrated this new transcendent condition by remaining sexually ascetic. When the male was with the female they could no longer respond as male or female.

## Treading on the Garment of Shame

In the garment/two-are-one saying, one not only takes off the "garment of shame," one also treads on it. Of course this reference to treading may simply be an image unrelated to actual baptismal practice, but there is evidence that sometimes the pre-baptismal garment was in fact trampled on.

Most of the evidence for this practice has been collected by Jonathan Z. Smith in an imaginative phenomenological article entitled "The Garments of Shame," where he suggests that the Sitz im Leben of the command to take off and tread on one's clothing in Gos. Thom. 37

was this pre-baptismal rite.[1] His main sources are Augustine and Theodore of Mopsuestia, both of whom lived in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Of course one must be cautious in using such late sources, but there are several reasons for thinking Augustine and Theodore referred to earlier traditions which were related to Valentinian and Syrian Christian communities.

Theodore says the baptismal service was preceded by an exorcism in which the catechumen removed his garment of sackcloth and stood on it barefooted, "so that from the fact your feet are pricked and stung by the roughness of the cloth you may remember your old sins and show penitance and repentance of the sins of your fathers."[2] Augustine also mentions exorcisms in which the catechumen stood not on sackcloth but on a goatskin: "so sin is trampled underfoot as is the goatskin."[3] The crucial question for our purposes is: Did the skin or sackcloth originally represent sin? A more natural interpretation of the symbol would be to understand it as showing disdain for the body by treading on the garment in anticipation of

---

[1] HR 5, 2 (1966) 217-238.

[2] Alphonse Mingana, Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist (Woodbrooke studies 6; Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1933) 31-32.

[3] Sermon 216, 10, MPL XXXVIII, 1082. See also De Cognitione Baptismi 14 of Hildefonse of Toledo (seventh century), "as John himself said: 'I baptize in water unto repentance.' For this reason the children are led by the priests to the anointing over a carpet of goatskin, that they may have a token of penitance, since because of their age, they cannot perform deeds of penance" (as quoted by Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Garments of Shame," HR 5 n. 2. /1966/ 230).

baptism. I suggest this was the original significance of the rite. Theodore and Augustine later simply moralized the symbol and made it represent repentance and disdain for one's sinful past.

This suggestion is confirmed by evidence already in the second century that trampling on the powers of darkness, whose domain of course included the body, was related to baptism. For example, the Valentinian Theodotus said: "The one baptized unto God has gone to God and has received 'power to walk upon scorpions and snakes,' the evil powers."[1] The recently published Nag Hammadi fragment entitled On The Anointing, commonly identified as Valentinian, has an almost identical reference; although, here it is in the context of the post-baptismal unction: "It is fitting for /thee at this time/ to send thy Son /Jesus/s Christ and anoint us so that we might be able to trample (καταπατεῖν) upon the /snakes/ and /the heads/ of the scorpions and /all/ the power of the Devil."[2]

Trampling on the powers in baptism also appears in non-Valentinian Christian Gnosticism. In the Hypostasis of the Archons, responding to the question "How long before the kingdom comes?," the revealer says:

> Then he will teach them about everything: And he will anoint them with the unction of Life eternal, given him from the undominated generation.
>
> Then they will be freed of blind thought: And they will trample under foot Death, which is of the Authorities: And they will ascend into the limitless Light, where this Sown Element belongs.[3]

---

[1] Exc. Theod. 76 (the quotation is from Luke 10:19).

[2] C.G. XI, 40, 11-17.

[3] HypArch, C.G. II, 97, 2-9.

Since baptism was frequently related to the unction and to the rising to "infinite light," this passage may well be another witness to treading on the powers in baptism. In Sophia Jesu Christi's version of the Letter of Eugnostos one finds: "I have given you power over all things as children of light, that you may trample on their power with your feet."[1]

One also finds a similar baptismal tradition in Syria a little later than Theodore in a baptismal homily of Narsai (399-503 C.E.?): "They that were clothed with passions have put on hidden power from the water; and they have begun to defy the Foe, that they may trample on his power."[2]

The idea of trampling on the powers of evil had a long history before it was appropriated as a baptismal image. Psalm 91:13 reads: "You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample underfoot." Apparently this passage is alluded to in the Testaments of Levi and Simeon where this treading is said to happen at the End, when the faithful return to the condition of Adam in the garden:

> And he shall open the gates of paradise, and shall remove the threatening sword against Adam. And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life, and the spirit of holiness shall be on them. And Beliar shall be bound,

---

[1] SJC, III, 119, 4-8. This translation comes from Werner Foerster, Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts (2 vols.; tr. Robert McL. Wilson; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972-74) 2. 39.

[2] Richard Hugh Connolly, The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai (Reprint, Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, 8, 19 /Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1967/ 54).

> and he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits . . . And all the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.[1]

And in the Testament of Simeon:

> Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot, and men shall rule over wicked spirits.[2]

This messianic hope seems to be what Paul referred to as imminent when he wrote in Rom 16:20, "the God of peace will soon crush Satan under your feet," and what Luke referred to as past in Luke 10:19, "I have seen Satan falling from heaven like a star. Behold I have given you authority to tread on serpents and on all the power of the enemy." The promise of treading on the powers seems to have been incorporated into baptismal contexts by communities for whom baptism was the principal act of realized eschatology. For example, Theodotus the Valentinian claimed by virtue of baptism one was no longer subject to astrological forces.[3]

Therefore, it is not stretching the evidence unduly to suggest that the rite of treading on the pre-baptismal garment referred to by Theodore and Augustine originated in circles for whom baptism entitled one to tread on the powers of evil and therefore also on the body, which the skin or garment symbolized. But whether or not our evidence testifies to the early existence of this rite, it is clear that references to treading appear in baptismal contexts already in the

---

[1] Test. Lev. 18:10-14.

[2] Test. Sim. 6:6.

[3] Exc. Theod. 78-80.

second century and in those very groups where baptism symbolized the initiate's transcending the body and thereby going beyond the tether of the dark powers.

## Conclusion

Although attributed to Jesus, the garment/two-are-one tradition is a product of early Christian baptismal practice. Both in circles with which Cassianus was identified and in Syrian Christendom, baptism dramatized the initiate's putting off the garment of shame, putting on light, and returning to primordial unity. The result of this interpretation of the rite frequently was celibacy. There is also evidence that suggests the pre-baptismal garment was trampled as a symbol of disdain for the body and its governing powers. This act appears in baptismal rites in the late fourth century and in images related to baptism as early as the second.

Of course, if the original Sitz im Leben of the tradition were baptism, it would make much more likely our thesis that Paul was alluding to the tradition in Galatians 3. There he introduced the tradition with a reference to baptism, even though baptism was extraneous to the context. The thesis would be even stronger if it could be shown that the theology of the tradition already was present in the Pauline communities.

# CHAPTER IV

## ANTHROPOLOGY, BAPTISM AND SEXUALITY IN PHILO AND 1 CORINTHIANS

The anthropology, Genesis exegesis, and images of the garment/two-are-one tradition were already present in Hellenistic Judaism--especially Philo--and also in Corinth when Paul wrote 1 Corinthians. Relationships between Philo and the Corinthian "pneumatics," and between the "pneumatics" and Valentinian and Syrian Christians have been posited for reasons not directly related to our interests, but which create a prima facie probability of some connection.

For example, Richard A. Horsley has accumulated an impressive number of parallels between Philo and the Corinthians, even though he probably overstates his case by giving the impression they were Philo-like mystics with a thin Christian veneer.[1] A relation between the two is even more likely if Acts 18:24-25 represents reliable tradition:

> Now a Jew named Apollos, a native of Alexandria, came to Ephesus. He was an eloquent man, well-versed in the scriptures. He had been instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in spirit, he spoke and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus, though he knew only the baptism of John.

---

[1] "Paul and the Pneumatikoi: First Corinthians Investigated in Terms of the Conflict between Two Different Religious Mentalities" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1970).

In other words, Apollos was a Hellenistic Jew who had been instructed in the Scriptures and who came from Alexandria within twenty years--at the most--after the death of Philo. Furthermore, Philo did not work in isolation. He mentioned others who allegorized the Hebrew Scriptures, thereby giving the impression he was part of a school of interpretation which no doubt would have continued after his death. According to Acts, Apollos was sent from Ephesus to Corinth with a letter of recommendation from Priscilla and Aquila;[1] and when Paul wrote 1 Corinthians, Apollos had a strong following there, even though he had since departed.[2] It is natural and quite justified to assume that Apollos was at least in part responsible for the similarities between Philo and the Corinthian pneumatics.[3]

On the other hand, Walter Schmithals has exposed a remarkable number of parallels between the Corinthians and later Christian Gnostics.[4] These must be granted even though he obscures the discussion by referring to the Corinthians themselves as Gnostics, and by not distinguishing as carefully as he might between various early Christian Gnostic groups. James M. Robinson has taken a less ambi-

---

[1]Acts 18:27-19:1.

[2]1 Cor 16:12.

[3]Several other scholars agree. See for example Helmut Koester, "Gnomai Diaphoroi" (Trajectories through Early Christianity, by James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 149 and Birger A. Pearson, The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology (SBLDS 12; Missoula: 1973) 18, and Horsley, "Paul," 164-165.

[4]Gnosticism in Corinth (tr. John E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1971).

tious but potentially more productive approach by suggesting that the Corinthians were interpreting Jesus traditions similar to those which ultimately found their way into the Gospel of Thomas (Syrian) and the Gospel of Philip (Valentinian).[1] He links these traditions particularly to Gnostic baptismal resurrection.

Furthermore, some scholars have pointed out similarities between the "Thomas literature," Valentinianism, and Philo. For example, Richard A. Baer has shown that Philo's use of the categories male and female was later reflected in Gos. Thom., the Gospel of Philip, and the Excerpts from Theodotus, with respect to the two sexes becoming one and the female becoming male.[2]

It is not our purpose to define what the relationships between these groups might have been or how the ideas shared by them were transmitted. Our purpose is to show that the anthropology, sacramentology and Genesis exegesis of the garment/two-are-one tradition and of Syrian and Valentinian Christendom can be seen already in Philo and in Corinth when Paul wrote 1 Corinthians.

## Attitudes to the Body

Like Syrian and Valentinian Christians, Philo held the body in disdain. He called it a shell,[3] a tent,[4] a vessel which grows old

---

[1] "Kerygma and History in the New Testament," Trajectories, 30-46.

[2] Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female (ALGHJ 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 66-75.

[3] Jos. 71.

[4] Quaest. Gen. IV, 11.

and dissolves,[1] a foreign country in which the lover of virtue sojourns,[2] a camp the mind desires to leave to contemplate the incorporeal,[3] an ark one must leave,[4] a hedge one must cross,[5] a tomb one must flee,[6] a building, a house or a prison from which one must be freed,[7] and a corpse one must condemn to death.[8]

Death is the separation of the soul, "the inside," from the body, "the outside,"[9] whereby the former returns to its place of origin.[10] But this separation and flight also comes before death to the truly wise who,

> descending into the body as though into a stream . . . have been able to stem the current, they have risen to the surface and then soared upwards back to the place whence they came. These . . . are the souls of those who have given themselves

---

[1] Som. I, 26; Migr. Abr. 193; Det. Pot. Ins. 170.

[2] Rer. Div. Her. 267.

[3] Ebr. 99; cf. Leg. All. III, 46.

[4] Conf. Ling. 105; Quaest. Gen. II, 1ff; Det. Pet. Ins. 170.

[5] Quaest. Gen. IV, 185.

[6] Leg. All. I, 108; Deus Imm. 150; cf. Quaest. Gen. I, 70, IV, 75.

[7] Conf. Ling. 177; Quaest. Gen. IV, 94; Som. I, 122; Praem. 120f; Deus Imm. 150; Agric. 25.

[8] Leg. All. III, 72-75; cf. I, 108, Quaest. Gen. I, 93, II, 12.

[9] Leg. All. III, 40-41, 239-40; Ebr. 147; Rer. Div. Her. 81-85; Mut. Nom. 43-44; Quaest. Gen. IV, 80; Quaest. Ex. II, 54. Notice also the distinction between the soul and the external object of sense, τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητον , e.g., in Det. Pot. Ins. 4, 15, 109 (cf. 21, 103, 136) and Poster. C. 98 (cf. 123).

[10] Conf. Ling. 78; Abr. 258. See also Sacr. AC. 8-9; Agric. 65; Leg. All. I, 108; Spec. Leg. III, 207; Cher. 114; Virt. 76-77.

> to genuine philosophy, who from first to last study to die to the life in the body.[1]

The mind becomes light as it proceeds to higher things where it can see unhindered the light of wisdom.[2] Thus the Therapeutae, by contemplation, "have lived in the soul alone."[3] "The wise man, having a body that is inanimate and heavy, like a bronze statue, is always carrying a corpse."[4] In fact, "we may almost make it an axiom that the business of wisdom is to become estranged from the body and its cravings."[5]

Of course, this radical opposition of the soul and body shared by Hellenistic Jews and Valentinians need not indicate any organic relationship between them, for the writings of both groups may simply reflect the ubiquitous Platonic tradition. However, since

---

[1] Gig. 13-14. See also Quaest. Gen. IV, 46, 138; Vit. Mos. I, 279; Rer. Div. Her. 29; Leg. All. III, 71.

[2] Quaest. Gen. IV, 46, 193 and Vit. Mos. II, 288: "Afterwards the time came when he /Moses/ had to make his pilgrimage from earth to heaven, and leave this mortal life for immortality, summoned thither by the Father Who resolved his twofold nature of soul and body into a single unity, transforming his whole being into mind, pure as the sunlight."

[3] Vit. Cont. 90. See also Abr. 236; Sacr. AC. 9-10; Agric. 64-65.

[4] Quaest. Gen. IV, 77.

[5] Leg. All. I, 103. Compare Plato, Phaedo 65 A: "in such matters the philosopher, more than other men, separates the soul from communion with the body." See also Omn. Prob. Lib. 107. Philo never tires of using this idea in allegories: the separation of the soul from the body is what is meant by Moses taking his tent outside the camp (Det. Pot. Ins. 159-160), or by Abraham leaving his land (Migr. Abr. 1-3 and Quaest. Gen. IV, 74), or by his sojourning in Egypt (Conf. Ling. 78-82), or by circumcision (Quaest. Gen. III, 52) or by Noah being "naked in his house" (Plant. 140-177).

we find similar Biblical exegesis used to justify this oppostion of soul and body, some organic relationship between these groups seems quite likely. For example, Julius Cassianus justified his disdain for the body by interpreting Genesis 1-3, which he understood to contain two different accounts of the origin of humankind. The first account spoke of the human made in God's image (1:26-27), and the second of the human molded out of the dust of the earth (2:7).[1] This division of the two Adams also seems to lie behind Gos. Thom. where salvation is the return to the primordial condition of incorporeality,[2] unity,[3] and child-like sexual innocence.[4] One can also see hints of this speculation on two creations in the Valentinian Exegesis on the Soul,[5] and the Gospel of Philip.[6] But the earliest and clearest expression of this exegesis appears in Philo:

> There are two types of men: the one a heavenly man, the other an earthly. The heavenly man being made after the image of God, is altogether without part or lot in corruptible and terrestial substance; but the earthly was compacted out of matter scattered here and there, which Moses calls "clay" (χοῦν). For this reason he says the heavenly man was not moulded (πεπλάσθαι) but was stamped with the image of God (κατ' εἰκόνα

---

[1] Strom. III, 14, 95. See the discussion on pages 24-25.

[2] Gos. Thom. 21, 37.

[3] Ibid., 4, 11, 22, 49.

[4] Ibid., 4, 22, 46.

[5] C.G. II, 131, 16-132, 2.

[6] C.G. II, 70, 5-22.

> δὲ τετυπώσθαι θεοῦ); while the earthly is a moulded work of the Artificer, but not His offspring.[1]

Therefore, that mind or soul which has no share in matter is in the image of God.[2] Philo also related the second creation story to a change in sexuality:

> He/God/ makes it most clear that there is an immense difference between this moulded human and the one made previously after the image of God; for the moulded one is an object of sense, partaking already of quality consisting of body and soul, man or woman, mortal by nature; while that which was after the image was an idea or type or seal, an object of thought (only), incorporeal (ἀσώματος), neither male nor female (οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ), incorruptible by nature.[3]

Furthermore, for Philo as for Cassianus, the "coats of skins" in which God clothed the first couple was the skin of the body,[4] or the body itself.[5] Therefore, Philo too could use garment imagery

---

[1]Leg. All. I, 31.

[2]Plant. 18-20; Op. Mund. 134-135; Leg. All. I, 31, 33.

[3]Op. Mund. 134 translation mine. See also Leg. All. I, 53, 88-92; Plant. 44; Rer. Div. Her. 57; Quaest. Gen. I, 4, 8; II, 56 and IV, 160. But even the second Adam, "as long as he was one" (μέχρι . . . εἷς ἦν), imitated unity (μόνωσις) with God and the universe (Op. Mund. 151). His fall came with the division of the sexes: "woman becomes for him the beginning of a blameworthy life" in that desire was spawned from their longing to be one again. "Love (ἔρως) supervenes, brings together and fits into one the divided halves, as it were, of a single living creature, and set up in each of them a desire for fellowship with the other with a view to the production of their like. And this desire begat likewise bodily pleasure, that pleasure which is the beginning of wrongs and violation of law, the pleasure for the sake of which men bring on themselves the life of mortality and wretchedness in lieu of that immortality and bliss" (ibid., 152).

[4]Quaest. Gen. I, 53.

[5]Ibid., IV, 78.

to speak of the soul's escape from the body. For example, He saw significance in Rebecca's use of a water pitcher (Gen 24:16) while Hagar had used a water-skin (Gen 21:14):

> She who was filled with unalloyed wisdom /Rebecca/ has absolutely no need of any bulky leathern vessel: she that is enamored of spiritual objects has learned by use of reason to rid herself completely of the body which the water-skin represents (ὅλον ἀποδύσεσθαι λογισμῷ τὸν ἀσκόν, τὸ σῶμα).[1]

He interpreted Exod 33:7, "Moses fixes his tent outside the camp, a long way from the camp, and it was called the tent of testimony," to mean "the soul that loves God, having disrobed itself of the body (ἐκδῦσα τὸ σῶμα) . . . fled far away."[2] For this reason also, the priest could not wear his robe in the Holy of Holies (Lev 16:1ff).[3] "Our soul moves often by itself, stripping itself of the entire encumbrance of the body" (ὅλον τὸ σωματικὸν ὄγκον ἐκδῦσα).[4] But "those who have made a compact and a truce with the body are unable to cast off from them the garment of flesh."[5]

Apparently in Corinth the "pneumatics" believed that they too had cast off the garment of flesh. As James M. Robinson puts it:

> When Paul criticizes "some of you" for asserting that "there is no resurrection of the dead" (1 Cor 15:12), one . . . assumes

---

[1]Poster. C. 137; cf. Leg. All. III, 69 and Migr. Abr. 192: ὑμετέρον νοῦν ἀποδυσάμενον σῶμα.

[2]Leg. All. II, 55.

[3]Ibid., II, 56.

[4]Som. I, 43. Cf. Gig. 53; Migr. Abr. 192; Praem. 166; Leg. All. II, 57-58.

[5]Deus Imm. 56.

> he is alluding to a position that is not to be taken as the enlightened rationalism of the Greek philosophical mind but rather as the turgid fanaticism of those who have already risen and are living it up in glory. For although the word already is lacking in 15:12 it is present with all its presumptions and potentially heretical overtones in Paul's description of his opponents in 1 Cor. 4:8: "Already you have feasted to the full; already you have reached wealth; without us you have taken over the reign."[1]

All things were lawful for them,[2] and all things were theirs.[3] They were the wise,[4] the perfect,[5] and the pneumatic or spiritual.[6] Apparently they thought their imperishable souls had put off the perishable body; this immortal element had put off the mortal. But Paul said precisely the opposite:

> this perishable nature must put on (ἐνδύσασθαι) the imperishable, and this mortal nature must put on (ἐνδύσασθαι) immortality. When the perishable puts on (ἐνδύσηται) the imperishable, and the mortal puts on (ἐνδύσηται) immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written:
>
> Death is swallowed up in victory.
> O Death, where is thy victory?
> O Death, where is thy sting?[7]

For Paul, incorruptibility and immortality are eschatological possessions, not present states of existence. Furthermore, whether

---

[1] "Kerygma and History in the New Testament," Trajectories, 33-34.

[2] 1 Cor 6:12; 10:23.

[3] 1 Cor 3:21.

[4] 1 Cor 1:20-2:16; 3:18-23; 8:1.

[5] 1 Cor 2:6.

[6] 1 Cor 2:15; 3:1; 12:1; 14:37.

[7] 1 Cor 15:53-55.

at the Parousia, as here, or at death, as in 2 Cor 5:1-4, one does not put off the body; one puts on immortality or "puts on in addition to" the body (ἐπενδύω):

> The notion of this mortal nature putting on immortality is clearly opposed to the whole structure of understanding in which the immortal soul strips off the mortal body as the soteriological solution to having put on the body. Paul uses the Corinthians' own terminology in the contrasts mortal-immortal, corruptible-incorruptible. Yet in re-setting these terms into his own eschatological pattern of thinking he says something quite different from what the pneumatikoi were thinking . . . . Paul shifts the focus decisively from the exclusive spiritual existence of the true self available only to the religious elite to the (still future) eschatological transformation of existence which will take place in the resurrection.[1]

Furthermore, when Paul argued for the eschatological resurrection of the body against their putative flight of the soul from the body, he apparently felt obligated to give his own interpretation of the first and second Adam. For Philo, Valentinians, and Syrian Christians, the first Adam was the heavenly and the second the earthly. But for Paul it was the second Adam, Christ, who was the heavenly Adam. Notice also the reference to wearing the divine image in the context of this speculation on the two Adams:

> Thus it is written, "The first Adam became a living soul;" the last Adam became a life-giving spirit. But it is not the pneumatic which is first but the psychic, and then the pneumatic. The first human was from the earth, choic; the second human is from heaven. As was the choic human, so are the choic; and as is the heavenly human, so are the heavenly.

---

[1]Richard A. Horsley, "Paul and the Pneumatikoi: First Corinthians Investigated in Terms of the Conflict between Two Different Religious Mentalities" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1970) 367.

> Just as we have worn the image of the choic one, we shall also wear the image of the heavenly.[1]

Even though Paul says believers "no longer wear the image" of the first Adam, he refuses to say they <u>now</u> wear the image of the heavenly. "We <u>shall</u> wear the image of the heavenly," Paul wrote. Only at Christ's Parousia will the Corinthians "be made alive":

> For as in Adam all died, in Christ all <u>will</u> be made alive, <u>but each in its own order</u>:
> Christ the first fruits,
> <u>then</u> those who belong to Christ <u>at his parousia</u>,
> <u>then</u> comes the end,
> when he will deliver the kingdom to God the Father,
> when he will destroy every kingdom and every authority and power . . . .
> The <u>last</u> enemy to be conquered is death (1 Cor 15:22-26).

Surely this apocalyptic periodization is a polemic against the over-realized eschatology of the Corinthians who claimed they had already returned to the condition of the first, the heavenly Adam, and already wore the divine image.

It appears then that, like Philo and Valentinian and Syrian Christians, the Corinthians claimed to have "put off" the body and to have transcended material existence. But did they do so in baptism as the garment/two-are-one tradition implies?

---

[1] 1 Cor 15:45-49. He plays with the wording of Gen 2:7 by inverting its order and by changing πνοὴν ζωῆς to πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν to support his understanding of the psychic and pneumatic.

| Gen 2:7b | 1 Cor 15:45 |
|---|---|
| καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν | <u>ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος</u> Ἀδὰμ |
| <u>εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν</u> | <u>εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν</u>, |
| <u>ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος /ζωῆς</u>, | ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ |
| <u>εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν</u>. | <u>εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν</u>. |

## Attitudes to Baptism

Of course it would be anachronistic to speak of baptism in relation to Philo, but it should be noted that he spoke of Jewish rites as "mysteries" (μυστήρια) and of the participant as being "initiated" (μύειν) as Greeks would speak about initiations into mystery religions and as second-century Christians would speak about baptism. Furthermore, it was by means of these "mysteries" that the mind transcended the body:

> When the mind soars aloft and is being initiated into the mysteries of the Lord, it judges the body to be evil and hostile.[1]

Again:

> this mind, the initiate of the holy mysteries, the fellow traveller of the heavenly bodies as they revolve in ordered march, has been honored with the gift of quietude by God, who willed that it should be undistracted, never affected by any of the troublesome sensations which the distresses of the body engender.[2]

However one interprets these texts in Philo, there can be no question that "baptismal resurrection" ideas were older than Valentinians and "Thomas Christians." In Rom 6:3 (written from Corinth) Paul says: "Do you not know that as many of us as have been baptized into Christ have been baptized into his death?" By introducing this question with "do you not know" he apparently is appealing to something the Romans knew or to common Christian tradi-

---

[1] Leg. All. III, 71. The context speaks of the mind wearing the body as a corpse (νεκροφορεῖν) from an allegory on Er, Judah's oldest son, whose name Philo says means "leathern."

[2] Praem. 121.

# IMPORTANT NOTICE

This thesis is the property of Harvard University. In order to protect the literary rights of the author, the University reserves exclusive rights to reproduce its theses. Theses supplied on loan are for reading and consultation purposes only; further reproduction by any process is expressly forbidden.

Microfilm or other copies may not be recopied, sold or given away to another individual, firm, or library, without written permission from the University.

A reader may not quote or closely paraphrase the contents of this thesis in his own work without the author's written permission. Author's address will be supplied, insofar as possible, by the Harvard University Archives. If this thesis benefits the reader's research in any way, he must acknowledge such benefits in his own work.

All inquiries regarding the use of, and restrictions on, this thesis should be addressed to:

HARVARD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

tion. The natural extension of the image, and probably its original meaning, would have been to identify baptism also with resurrection. But Paul does not do so: "For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his."[1] For Paul here, as in 1 Cor 15, the resurrection was still eschatology.

But for the author of Colossians, baptism was dying and rising with Christ, which included "putting off the body of flesh" (ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός).[2] Nor was the idea limited to the Pauline tradition in the first century or early in the second. Simon Magus, according to Eusebius, claimed one baptized by him

---

[1] Rom 6:5.

[2] "In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ; and you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead" (Col 2:11-12, cf. 3:1-4 and Eph 2:4-6). For an excellent discussion of baptismal resurrection among first-century Christians, see James M. Robinson, "Kerygma and History in the New Testament," Trajectories, 20-45.

It might be helpful to notice how often in the transmission of the text of 1 and 2 Corinthians this baptismal resurrection tendence is apparent. 1 Cor 6:14 reads, "and God has raised up the Lord and will raise us," but $p^{46c2}$, Vaticanus, 1739, as well as a text used by Origen read the aorist ἐξήγειρεν, "has raised," and $p^{11}$, the original version of $p^{46}$, Alexandrinus and Bezae read the present ἐξεγείρει,"raises us." In either variant the resurrection is related to the believers present experience. The future tense is well attested and is required both by the general line of argument, and by the future καταργήσει in the preceding verse. Also, in 1 Cor 15:49 Paul wrote "we shall wear (φορέσομεν) the image . . . ," but by far the majority of textual witnesses read φορέσωμεν, "let us wear." Such variants might be interpreted as innocent scribal errors, but it seems more likely to assume that such alterations reflect a consistent and rather self-conscious theological orientation.

would "obtain a share of immortality in this life itself, no longer mortal but remaining here."[1] Of Menander, Simon's pupil, Irenaeus said: "His disciples received resurrection through baptism into him, and they can no longer die, but remain without growing old and immortal."[2] Hippolytus said that the libertine Nicholas (whom Morton Smith identifies with the Nicholas of Acts 6:5 and the Nicholaitans of Rev 2:15[3]) "was the first to affirm that the resurrection had already come; meaning by 'resurrection' the fact that we believe in Christ and have received baptism; but he denied the resurrection of the body."[4] It is probable that Hymanaeus and Philetus, who according to 2 Tim 2:17-18 said the resurrection had already come, did so because of their interpretation of baptism.

It is clear then that: (1) Philo spoke of the "mysteries" transporting the mind to the realm of the incorporeal, (2) the Corinthians claimed to have transcended the body, and (3) this claim was related to baptism already in Pauline circles. Even if we knew nothing else about the situation in Corinth from 1 Corinthians, we might suspect that the pneumatics also made this claim because of their baptisms. But we do know more, and this additional

---

[1] E.H. III, 26, 2.

[2] Adv. Haer. I, 23, 5 (cf. Justin, Apol. I, 26, 1 and 4).

[3] Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

[4] Frag. I, De Resurrectione, in Hippolytus' Werke (ed. G. N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis; GCS 1; Leipzig; J. C. Hinrichs, 1897) 251.

information about the Corinthians makes this suspicion quite probable.

In 1 Cor 10:1-12 Paul argued that even though all the Hebrews were baptized into Moses and all ate pneumatic food and drank pneumatic drink, God smote the majority of them in the desert because of their disobedience. This is not a polemic against a Corinthian baptism into Moses, but an allegory against sacramental perfectionism. As Günther Bornkamm has shown, in chapter 11 Paul opposed a mystical attitude to the Lord's Supper whereby the common meal before the sacrament was treated with indifference.[1] Against this "crude sacramentalism," as Bornkamm calls it, Paul affirmed the unity of the community and rebuked them for having eaten at different times and for not having shared their provisions.

So too when Paul referred to baptism in 1 Corinthians, it was almost always in the context of an affirmation of the community's unity and against a use of the rite as operative in the mystery religions. In 12:13, the parallel to Gal 3:28, Paul affirmed the unity of the community by appealing to the Corinthians' common baptismal experience. The relationship between baptism and unity seems to have been important for Paul because baptism itself had been a cause of cliques in that some said "I am of Paul," "I am of Cephas," or "I am of Apollos" by virtue of having been baptized by

---

[1]"Lord's Supper and Church in Paul," in Early Christian Experience (tr. Paul L. Hammer; New York: Harper and Row, 1969) 123-160.

that particular mystagogue.[1] But here again Paul affirmed the unity of the community by asking, "Is Christ divided?"[2] For Paul, baptism implied sociological oneness; but for the Corinthians, it implied individual religious perfection. This disagreement informed Paul's warning in 10:12: "Let him who thinks he stands" by virtue of the sacraments "take heed lest he fall."

Of course, identifying baptism with moral perfection does not necessarily imply that the initiate has been delivered from the body, even though those who claimed to have been delivered from the body also usually claimed moral perfection. There is, however, one more bit of evidence to suggest that baptism at Corinth also altered one's relation to the body. This is Paul's reference to a vicarious baptism for the dead in 1 Cor 15:29, "one of the most hotly disputed passages in the epistle."[3] In light of the previous discussion that baptism in Corinth was the emancipation of the soul from the body, it seems likely that the baptism on behalf of the dead was for those who had died without having been baptized. Some Corinthians, by being baptized for the dead, were hoping to secure the release of those souls. Paul, however, related the practice to an eschatological resurrection of the body and not to a realized "resurrection" of the soul from the body: "If the dead are not

---

[1] 1 Cor 1:12-17.

[2] 1 Cor 1:13.

[3] Hans Conzelmann, 1 Corinthians (tr. James W. Leitch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969) 275.

raised, why are people baptized on their behalf?"[1] Whether or not this is the correct interpretation of the baptism for the dead, baptism in Corinth apparently was related to both moral and ontological perfection.

## Attitudes to Sexuality

If the Corinthians thought they had already been liberated from the material world and returned to the primordial state, one should not be surprised to find their sexual relations altered. This was in fact the case. One member had an affair with his stepmother, perhaps even while his father was living,[2] and some in the community boasted about it.[3] The most natural reading of the Greek sentence in 1 Cor 5:3-4 suggests that this act was done "in the name of the Lord Jesus." In other words, he and those who boasted of his behavior apparently did so for theological reasons.

This theological justification for sexual license is also demonstrated by those who patronized prostitutes on the pretext that "all things are permissible" (πάντα ἔξεστιν, 6:12). Their argument seems to have been: "What happens to our bodies is irrelevant if our spirit is the Lord's." In Paul's response, sexuality again is related to resurrection: "the body is not meant for immorality, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body.

---

[1] 1 Cor 15:29.

[2] Schmithals, Gnosticism in Corinth, 237.

[3] 1 Cor 5:2.

And God raised the Lord and will also raise us up by his power."[1] Obviously, Paul's main point is that the body is as important as the spirit, but notice how he refers to the resurrection as a future event: God will raise us.[2] If Paul was opposing sexual license motivated by an over-realized eschatology, this reference to the future resurrection becomes quite understandable and important. Furthermore, once again he forms his argument from Genesis 1-3, for he quotes Gen 2:24 as support. Paul then interpreted Genesis in his arguments both about the resurrection of the body and about sexuality, which is precisely what we would expect if the theology of the garment/two-are-one tradition had been present in Corinth. For, as we have seen, the tradition was heavily dependent on Genesis interpretation.

Most of the Corinthians, however, probably were not "libertine" in their sexual life; in fact, some in Corinth apparently said: "It is good for a man not to touch a woman" (7:1). This is the first written evidence of Christian asceticism.[3] This radical difference in sexual practice in Corinth might best be explained by the conviction, shared by both groups, that Christian existence transcended the material world--sexual distinctions included.

---

[1] 1 Cor 6:14.

[2] See p. 101, n. 2 for a discussion of the textual history of 1 Cor 6:14.

[3] D. L. Balch, "Background of I Cor. VII: Sayings of the Lord in Q; Moses as a theios aner in II Cor. III," NTS 18 (1972) 352.

Transcendence for some meant freedom to do any sexual act, and for others it meant rejection of all sexual acts. It is difficult to postulate another solution for the wide behavioral distance between these groups.

Can it be that the asceticism in Corinth was also encouraged by a tradition like the garment/two-are-one tradition? In his instructions to the ascetics in Corinth, Paul shows an interest in sayings of Jesus unparalleled in the Pauline corpus: "To the married I give charge, not I but the Lord . . ." (vs. 10); "To the rest I say, not the Lord . . ." (vs. 12); "Now concerning the virgins, I have no command from the Lord, but I give my own opinion . . ." (vs. 25). Only once does he say he is speaking with the Lord's authority (vs. 10), and here he introduces a prohibition of divorce. Probably Paul was referring to the tradition behind Mark 10:1-10 (par. Matt. 19:3-9) in which Jesus forbids divorce whether initiated by the man or the woman. D. L. Balch suggests that Paul was obligated to discuss the issue of celibacy in terms of traditions from Jesus because the ascetics abstained from sexual relations precisely because of such traditions. If Balch is correct, it would explain both Paul's rare concern here for Jesus traditions, and his explicit statement that he knows of no sayings of the Lord which speak to the concerns of "virgins" and the unmarried.

Even though Paul said the Lord forbade divorce, Balch hypothesizes that the ascetics might have been using Jesus traditions

to support divorce, similar to those later found in Luke.[1]

> If anyone comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple (Lk. 14:26).
>
> There is no one who has left house or wife or brothers or parents or children for the sake of the kingdom of God, who will not receive manifold more in this time, and in the age to come eternal life (Lk. 18:29-30).

Likewise, in 1 Cor 7:25 Paul denied that he had a command from the Lord concerning virgins, but the ascetics might have claimed such to support virginity. In Luke 14:20, when one is invited to the heavenly banquet, he claims he cannot come because he has married a wife. And in Luke 17:26-27, Jesus says:

> As it was in the days of Noah, so will it be in the days of the Son of man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day when Noah entered the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all.

Although much of Balch's theory seems to be educated guesswork, he does make his case more cogent with an important lexical observation.

> The suggestion that these passages in Luke (and perhaps originally in Q) were under discussion at Corinth is made very probably by the following observation. The interpretation and translation of the verbs γαμέω and γαμίζω in I Cor. 7:36 and 38 has always been hotly disputed. Kugelmann calls the latter verb "the key word on which the exegesis of this entire passage depends." It is, then, extremely striking that these two verbs occur together in Q and that they appear together in the very passages in Luke which I suggest were being discussed in Corinth (Luke 20:35=Matt 22:30=Mark 12:25 and Luke 17:27= Matt 24:38). To this must be added the fact that the rare form γαμίζω (causative?) does not appear anywhere else in the NT (or OT) and is found only in Apollonius Dyscolus

---

[1] Balch, "Background," 351-358.

> (Syntax 280. 11) /second century CE/ in extra-biblical Greek. The phrase "marrying and giving in marriage" (or "marrying and being married"?) was, therefore, almost certainly a catch-phrase which originated in ascetic Jewish circles older than Luke (and perhaps behind Q) and which Paul is forced to discuss in I Cor 7 (esp. verses 36-38). Against the Corinthians' use of the words of the Lord now deposited in Luke 17:27 and 20:35, Paul must argue in I Cor 7:28 and 36 that marriage is not sinful.[1]

Although I am not convinced the phrase in question necessarily originated in "ascetic Jewish circles," I think the use of γαμίζω only in Q, the Gospels, and 1 Cor 7:36-38 is significant. In fact, one might push Balch's theory one step further. Γαμέω and γαμίζω appear together in the Gospels only in two Synoptic passages. Matthew and Luke contain them both, but the first comes from Q and the second from Mark.

> And as it was in the days of Noah, so it will be in the days of the Son of Man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage until the day Noah entered the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all (Lk 17:26-27, par. Matt 24:37-39).

If this were the tradition the ascetics used to support their virginity, one would expect their eschatology to have been apocalyptic, but there is hardly a trace of apocalyptic among the Corinthians as far as we can tell from 1 or 2 Corinthians. Paul's difficulty with them was in part that they were not apocalyptic enough.

The other Synoptic tradition would have been much more congenial. In Mk 12:18-23, Sadduccees ask Jesus to whom a woman married seven times will belong at the resurrection. Jesus responds:

---

[1] Ibid., 357.

> when they are raised from the dead they neither marry nor are given in marriage, for they are like angels in heaven (vs. 25).

If this saying were known in Corinth, as the use of γαμίζω in 1 Cor 7:38 might suggest, the ascetics there might have refused marriage because they believed that they already had been raised.

This hypothesis finds some confirmation in the frequent use of Mark 12:25 to support asceticism in the early church. For example, Luke intentionally altered the Marcan form making it ascetic:

> The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage, but those worthy to receive that age and the resurrection of the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage; for they cannot die, for they are like angels, and being sons of God they are sons of the resurrection (Lk 20:34-35).

Here those worthy to attain the resurrection neither marry nor are given in marriage now, in this age. Luke differed with the Corinthians in their claim to have been raised already, but he too used the saying to encourage celibacy. The Corinthians were much closer to Cassianus' interpretation of this saying. In Strom. III, 6, 47-48, Clement complained that the encratites he was refuting, who included Cassianus, "neither marry nor are given in marriage" because "they already have attained the state of resurrection."

## Putting off the Veil

In 1 Cor 11:3-16 Paul opposed the practice of women removing their head coverings in prayer and prophecy. Because both he and his readers understood the women's religious motivation, he gave us almost no clues concerning what it might have been. This silence has called forth an amazing number of theories until the present.

While I respect the ability and creativity of many of the scholars responsible for these theories, all I have read share at least one of the following weaknesses: (1) they do not relate the women's motivation to the larger context of Corinthian theology, and (2) they do not establish widespread and consistent parallels from the history of religions. Therefore, it seems justified to set forth one more theory.

I suggest these pneumatic Corinthian women in their ecstatic worship believed they had transcended sexual distinctions and had become male. At first sight this suggestion might seem to contradict our thesis that the theology of the garment/two-are-one tradition was the theology of the Corinthians, but when examined more closely it actually makes it more probable. To us, becoming androgynous or removing sexual distinctions and becoming male are etymologically and logically antithetical, but they were not so to many early Christians. In fact for some of them, androgyny meant not bisexuality or asexuality but perfected masculinity. This apparent inconsistency can be documented from the literature of the very circles already identified with the garment/two-are-one tradition: Hellenistic Judaism, Valentinianism and Syrian Thomas Christianity.

Philo said the first human was "incorporeal, neither male nor female, incorruptible by nature,"[1] but he also spoke repeatedly of woman becoming a man. Sexual perfection was not androgyny but masculinity.[2] For example,

---

[1] Op. Mund. 134.

[2] Vit. Cont. 60-63. He also denounced effeminate men (Sacr. AC 32,

> Progress is nothing else than the giving up of the female gender by changing into the male, since the female gender is material, passive, corporeal and sense-perceptible, while the male is active, rational, incorporeal and more akin to mind and thought.[1]

He also interpreted Gen 18:11 LXX, "womanly things ceased for Sara," to mean that she had transcended material concerns.[2] The idea that being female was to be involved in the material world appears also in the Exegesis on the Soul, the Excerpts from Theodotus,[3] and Julius Cassianus.[4] Also, for Cassianus and the Exegesis on the Soul, the two sexes had to become one to repair the soul's fall to feminity. Gos. Egypt., while containing the garment/two-are-one saying, also says that Jesus came "to destroy the works of the female."[5] The Naassenes believed Attis had achieved the ideal state of being ἀρσενόθηλυς, but the elect must become wholly male.[6] Also the Dialogue of the Savior, a Nag Hammadi document of disputed provenience, speaks both about a rite of the bridal chamber and about destroying the works of femaleness.[7]

---

Gig. 4) and transvestites (Virt. 18-21). To become like an angel for Philo would have meant to become male (Quaest. Gen. I, 92).

[1] Quaest. Exod. I, 8.

[2] Fug. 128, 167; Ebr. 59-61; Det. Pot. Ins. 28; Poster C. 134; Cher. 50-52; Quaest. Exod. II, 3.

[3] ExcTheod.

[4] Strom. III,

[5] Strom. III, 9, 63.

[6] Hipp. Ref. V, 7, 15 and V, 8, 44.

[7] C.G. III, 138, 15-20 and 144, 15-145, 5.

This imagery appears also in a passage from Clement of Alexandria, who apparently received it from Valentinians since Tertullian refuted this very same tradition in his book Against the Valentinians. The first passage below is from Clement, the second from Tertullian.

> /To the true Gnostic/ his wife after conception is as a sister . . . as being destined to become a sister in reality after putting off (ἀπόθεσις) the flesh, which separates and limits the knowledge of those who are spiritual by the peculiar characteristics of the sexes. For souls themselves by themselves are equal. Souls are neither male nor female when they no longer marry nor are given in marriage. And is not the woman translated into a man when she is become equally unfeminine, and manly and perfect?[1]

> I am still a man of the demiurge. I must turn aside where, after the departure (death) there is no more giving in marriage, where I have to put on in addition (superindui=ἐπενδύω) rather than be stripped, where even if stripped, cut off from my sexuality, like the angels, neither male nor female angel, no one will do anything against me, nor will they find /me/ a male.[2]

Notice how similar these passages are in both motifs and order:

1. Death in the context of a garment allusion (Clement: "putting off the flesh;" Tertullian: "put on in addition rather than be stripped")

2. Elimination of sexual differences (Clement: removal of "the peculiar characteristics of the sexes;" Tertullian: "cut off from my sexuality")

3. "Neither male nor female"

4. Alteration of individual sexuality (Clement: "the woman is translated into a man;" Tertullian: "nor will they find me male")

Notice also that both speak of an end to giving in marriage as in

---

[1] Strom. VI, 12, 100.

[2] Adv. Valen. 32, 5.

Mk 12:25. Since these parallels cannot be explained in terms of dependence of one author on the other, both likely referred to a common tradition used in Valentinian circles.

In order to recover what that tradition might have been, we shall have to eliminate elements in both versions which seem secondary. Tertullian's version shows polemic with the tradition at every point and is clearly influenced by 2 Cor 5:3-4 and Mk 12:25 (or its parallels).

1. He has not yet escaped the material world: "I am still a man of the demiurge"
2. He has not and will not remove the flesh: "I have to put on in addition rather than be stripped"
3. The female will not become male, for even the male will transcend masculinity

Clement's version seems much closer to the original, although he too has redacted it by saying that he <u>will</u> remove the flesh, whereas a Valentinian would have said he or she had <u>already</u> removed it. Therefore, by retaining the order of the motifs in both versions and by preferring Clement's wording as closer to the original, one might reconstruct an outline of the tradition as follows:

1. Already they had taken off the flesh
2. They had returned to a state of sexual unity
3. Souls are neither male nor female
4. They neither marry nor are given in marriage
5. The female must become male

It should now be clear that the order and ideas of this tradition are almost identical with those of the garment/two-are-one tradition.

Furthermore, for both Valentinians and Clement, it was not inconsistent to identify the two sexes becoming one with the female becoming male.

This same identification appears in Syrian Christianity. In the Gos. Thom., where the motif of the two becoming one appears over and over, one also finds the following:

> Simon Peter said to them: Let Mary go out from among us, because women are not worthy of the Life. Jesus said: See, I shall lead her, so that I will make her male, that she too may become a living spirit, resembling you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven.[1]

Before we dismiss these examples either as unassimilated conflations of originally conflicting traditions or as unrefined and inconsistent speculations, we should ask why this seeming inconsistency was so frequent. Once again we must turn to their exegesis of Gen 1-3. The primordial unity was disrupted by the creation and Fall of the woman. Therefore, a return to that unity must include an undoing of "the works of the female." As the Valentinian Gospel of Philip put it: "If the woman had not separated from the man, she would not die with the man."[2] If she joins with him again, the primordial (masculine) unity is restored. If this interpretation of Genesis did inform these apparent contradictory references to the ideal sexual state, the androgyne myth, far from being antiquity's answer to androcentrism, was a

---

[1] Logion 114.

[2] GPhil, C.G. II, 70, 9-11.

manifestation of it.

The primary reason for our thesis that the Corinthian women thought they had become male through their ecstatic worship comes from an examination of parallels in which women remove their head coverings or otherwise alter their apparel for religious reasons. For example, in the Syriac Acts of Thomas a bride rejects marriage and removes her veil because she was yoked to Christ, her true heavenly Bridegroom.[1] Also, in the Acts of Paul and Thecla, Thecla promises to cut her hair short and follow Paul, but the apostle tells her to wait.[2] Later, after her self-baptism, she "sewed her mantle into a cloak after the fashion of man" and Paul commissions her to teach,[3] a task explicitly forbidden women in the Pastorals.[4] Here Thecla performs the functions restricted to men after she has altered her attire to resemble that of a man. Unfortunately, we are not explicitly told that she later cut her hair short, but it is implied.

The closest parallel to the removal of the veil appears in Joseph and Asenath, a Hellenistic Jewish romance, probably Alexandrian,[5]

---

[1] Acts Thom. 14. Also, in a dream of her own death Perpetua saw herself stripped of clothing and becoming a man (Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, 10, 7).

[2] Acts of Paul and Thecla, 3, 25.

[3] Ibid., 3, 40ff.

[4] 1 Tim 2:8-15.

[5] Burchard, Christoph. Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Asenath: Ueberlieferung, Ortsbestimmung (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 8; Tübingen: Mohr, 1965) 142-43.

and written sometime between the translation of the Greek Old Testament and Hadrian's edict banning Jewish proselytizing.[1] When Asenath first meets Joseph--a son of God and an astral personage[2]--she is "as a Bride of God" (4:2), dressed in an expensive robe, in jewelry engraved with the names of Egyptian deities, and in several layers of head coverings: a tiara, a diadem and a veil (θερίστρῳ κατεκάλυψε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς, 3:10-11). Subsequently, she abandons her gods, takes off her royal robe, tiara and diadem, puts on sackcloth and ashes, and repents and fasts for seven days. At dawn on the eighth day, she prays for mercy and is granted a visitation of Michael as a morning star rising in the east. The references to the eighth day and the morning star rising in the east are creation motifs,[3] and Michael tells Asenath to put off her black garment in language reminiscent of Gen 3:21.

Jos. Asen.: ἀπόθου τὸν χιτῶνα ὅνπερ ἐνδέδυσαι

Gen 3:21: ἐποίησεν κύριος . . . χιτῶνας . . . καὶ ἐνέδυσεν αὐτούς

He also tells her to shake the ashes from her head, wash her face in living water (baptism?), put on a new untouched robe (ἔνδυσαι στολὴν καινὴν ἄθικτον), and gird her loins with a double girdle of

---

[1]Burchard dates it first century B.C.E. (Untersuchungen, 143-48). See also Howard C. Kee, "The Socio-Religious Setting and Aims of 'Joseph and Asenath,'" Society of Biblical Literature 1976 Seminar Papers (ed. George W. MacRae; Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1976) 190.

[2]See Marc Philonenko, Joseph et Aseneth (Studia post-Biblica, 13; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968) 79-83.

[3]Compare Jos. Asen. 9:5.

virginity (14:13). All this she does, but in addition she covers her head with a veil (ἐκάλυψε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς θερίστρῳ, 14:17).[1] Michael immediately commands her to remove the veil "because today you are a pure virgin and your head is like that of a young man" (15:1).[2] Upon removing it, she is told that she has been created anew and is worthy of the holy meal: "Behold from today you will be renewed, remolded and made alive once more, and you will eat the bread of life and drink the cup of immortality and be anointed with the chrism of incorruption" (15:4). Joseph will be her bridegroom forever, so she must put on her ancient, first wedding robe (ἔνδυσαι στολὴν γάμου τὴν ἀρχαίαν τὴν πρώτην, 15:10). She prays in gratitude for having been brought from darkness to light (15:13), and offers the angel a meal of bread and wine (15:14), but the angel also wants a honeycomb. Since she has none, the angel miraculously supplies one made from the bees of Paradise who ate from the roses of Eden. It is the food of angels, and those who eat it never die (16:8). To prepare for the wedding, she puts on her first robe (τὴν στολὴν αὐτῆς τὴν πρώτην) which shone like lightning (18:3), and on her glowing head she puts a golden wreath and a veil (18:5-6). They marry and live happily ever after--literally.

---

[1]She had thrown her tiara and diadem away in 10:11-12.

[2]This passage is strange in several ways. First, from the beginning Asenath's virginity has been emphasized (1:6-7; 4:9; 7:8-9; 8:1, 10), so her becoming a virgin now surely is symbolic. Second, she has become like a young man, but this happens in preparation for her wedding to Joseph. As in Philo, virginity and masculinity are the desired sexual conditions--even in the context of a ἱερὸς γάμος.

In this Hellenistic Jewish romance we have all the elements of the garment/two-are-one tradition. Asenath removed her filthy garment and put on her primordial robe in preparation for her heavenly marriage. She was assured immortality by means of a sacrament. Notice also that in preparation for her marriage to Joseph she becomes like a young man. Here once again we find the contradiction in images: the woman becoming like a man is linked with the two sexes becoming one.

Furthermore, there are several similarities between this romance and the pneumatics' theology. In both, salvation appears to have been a return to the primordial condition, including taking off the body and altering sexuality. In both, mystery rites insure immortality. And in both, women take off their veils to symbolize their new condition.

Thus far we have shown (1) that removing of the veil in other texts often was related to a woman's claim to have become male; (2) that the practice appears in the very circles we have identified with the garment/two-are-one tradition, and (3) that the practice would have been consistent with the Corinthians' theology. There is also evidence in 1 Cor 11:3-16 itself to suggest that the women removed their veils for reasons similar to Asenath's.

First, Paul was concerned about women who prayed and prophesied with their heads not covered, so presumably it was only in these acts that the women took off their head coverings. This is what we now might expect since it would have been precisely in such acts of ecstatic worship that the pneumatics would have expressed their

transcendent condition. The Syrian book of Thomas the Contender ends with this same interpretation of worship.

> Watch and pray that you may not exist in the flesh but come forth from the fetter of the bitterness of life. And when you pray, you shall find rest, because you have left behind you the labors and the heartbreaks. For when you come forth from the labors and the sufferings of the body you will obtain rest through the Good and reign with the King. You will be one with him and he one with you from now to eternity. Amen.[1]

The Corinthian women apparently were dramatizing this unity with God in their prayers by taking off their veils, a unity which included becoming male.

Second, it is clear that Paul thought the practice violated the natural distinctions between the sexes. This objection to the practice is so obvious that it seems trite even to mention it, but few discussions of the passage have given it its proper place. Presumably the women's purpose for removing the veil was precisely to demonstrate their victory over the "natural" distinctions between the sexes.

Third, 1 Cor 11:3-16 is permeated with references to Genesis 1-3. Again, this is consistent with our thesis that the Corinthian women's motivation for removing the veil had been that of Asenath. Furthermore, it is clear that Paul's interpretation of Genesis was modeled to oppose the interpretation implied by Joseph and Asenath and the garment/two-are-one tradition:

> For a man ought not cover his head, since he is the image (εἰκών) and reflection (δόξα) of God. But a woman is the reflection of man. For man did not originate from woman,

---

[1] C.G. II, 145, 7-16.

> but woman from man. Neither was man created for woman's sake, but woman for man's. For this reason a woman must have an authority (ἐξουσία) on her head, because of the angels.[1]

Here Paul excluded women from the man's full participation in the divine image.[2] At first sight, this interpretation appears to be a blatant perversion of the plain meaning of Gen 1:26-27; but in a detailed study of speculations on the image of God in post-Biblical Judaism, Gnosticism, and Paul, Jacob Jervell has shown how Paul might have interpreted Gen 1-2 and 5:1-5.[3] Gen 1:27 reads:

> God created the human (MT, ha'adam, LXX, τὸν ἄνθρωπον) in His image. In the image of God he created him. Male and female He created them.

And Gen 5:1-2 reads:

> God created Adam (MT, 'adam, LXX, τὸν Ἀδάμ); in the likeness (MT, bid$^{e}$mût, LXX, κατ' εἰκόνα)of God He created him. Male and female He created them.

In both cases, the image of God is related to the singular pronoun, never to the plural. This phenomenon is even more pronounced in Greek. In Hebrew, because of the double entendre of 'adam, one

---

[1] 1 Cor 11:7-10.

[2] This is so even though he does not explicitly say the woman is not in the image of God--she is not His reflection (δόξα) but the man's. Jacob Jervell thinks δόξα here as elsewhere translates d$^{e}$mût, and therefore is equivalent to ὁμοίωσις (Imago Dei, Gen 1:26f im Spatjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen /FRLANT 76; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1960/ 299-300). In that case Paul would have been distinguishing God's image from his likeness. But Hans Conzelmann understands εἰκων και δόξα θεοῦ as hendiadys, since δόξα may also be an equivalent to εἰκών (1 Corinthians /tr. James W. Leitch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969/ 186-188). For example, notice the close relationship between δόξα and εἰκώνin 2 Cor 3:17-18.

[3] Jervell, Imago, 298-303.

need not identify the one created in the image of God as Adam: it could simply mean "the human." But the LXX, by translating the anarthrous ʾadam in 5:1 with the name Ἀδάμ, implies that only he was in God's image. Philo too divided 1:27b, "in the image of God He created him," which spoke of the unified human in God's image, from 1:27c, "male and female He created them," which spoke of the sexually divided one.[1]

Paul's claim that the woman is not as fully in the divine image as the man agrees somewhat with the theology of the Corinthians. Both thought that the female gender was the inferior or subordinate; but for the pneumatics, the female could transcend her condition by becoming male, and she dramatized her transcendence by removing the veil. For Paul, on the other hand, it was "for this reason a woman must have an authority on her head, because of the angels" (vs. 10).

Although the διὰ τοῦτο at the beginning of verse ten could refer to the διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους at the end, it is much more likely it refers to what precedes it: woman is the reflection of the man and was created for his sake. Paul's argument therefore seems to be:

1. The man is the image and reflection of God; ergo, he ought not cover his head (vs. 7; cf. vs. 4)

---

[1] Rer. Div. Her. 164: "'Male and female He made'--not now 'him' /referring to αὐτόν in 27b/ but 'them.'" The Pseudo-Clementines were written over a century after Philo, but perhaps they have older tradition to support their alteration of αὐτούς in Gen 1:27b to αὐτόν to read: "male and female He created him" (Homily III, 54, 2). The Rabbis also knew of a version of the Septuagint with a similar reading (according to the Babylonian Talmud, Megilla 9a and Mekilta, Pisḥa 14).

2. The woman is the reflection of man; ergo, she ought to cover her head (vs. 10)

In other words, the woman must wear a covering, an authority, because she is not the reflection of God. Obviously Paul was referring to some custom or theological understanding not apparent to us.

But Paul has provided us with an important clue about this custom or understanding in his use of "authority" or "power" on the woman's head. The attempts to interpret this reference as a positive indication of the woman's own authority seem to be special pleading for modern apologetic purposes.[1] The authority on the head reference surely was related to a supposed deficiency in the woman. In Jewish exegesis the authority of the first couple to rule over the earth, including its vegetable and animal life (Gen 1:28), and even over the demonic powers was often related to the image of God they possessed.[2] The words ἐξουσία and ἐξουσιάζω were used to express this authority.[3] Jervell concludes that in 1 Cor 11:10 Paul argued that a woman showed the angels she was under the authority of the man when she put a covering on her head; therefore, the authority of the image of God over the angels was hers as well. "Die Dämonen haben keine Gewalt über die Männer, weil dieses gottebenbildlich sind. Sie haben in ihrem Aussehen,

---

[1]For example see Morna D. Hooker, "Authority on Her Head," NTS 10 (1963,64) 410-416.

[2]Jervell, Imago, 305.

[3]Ibid. See also Acts Barn. 6, 18.

Wesen etc. die ἐξουσία, die die Frauen nicht besitzen."[1]

Perhaps now we can reconstruct the situation. For the Corinthians, the order of creation was : (1) God, (2) the incorporeal, sexually united Adam, and (3) the corporeal, sexually divided Adam. This ordo creationis was used to encourage the believer to return to his or her original condition. For the woman this return meant becoming male, since the fall was the fault of the first female. By removing her veil, she symbolized her return to the divine image and her possession of its ἐξουσία over the powers controlling the material world.

But for Paul, the order of creation was: (1) God, (2) Christ, (3) Adam, (4) Eve. Furthermore, he used this order not to encourage a return to the primordial condition but to sanctify as natural--and therefore divine--the differences between the sexes. For this reason also he argued for distinct clothing practices in the congregation. In addition, he claimed that authority over the angels (i.e., the powers) was not achieved by removing the veil but in fact by wearing it. Since she was not in the divine image, the woman had to wear this covering or "authority" to show that she too was related to the divine image.

## Conclusion

We have seen that the theology of the garment/two-are-one tradition can be found among the pneumatics in Corinth who apparently

---

[1]Ibid., 307.

were influenced by Hellenistic Judaism. This theology included the flight of the soul from the body before death, the use of garment imagery to express that flight, alterations in sexual practices, speculations on Genesis, interpretations of Jesus traditions, and baptismal perfectionism.

Furthermore, only in Paul's Corinthian correspondence do we find many of these theological issues addressed. This must be emphasized, since one might object to our linking to a single theological tradition passages which might simply reflect quite unrelated problems. But if they do reflect unrelated problems, one would expect Paul to have encountered some of them elsewhere. He did not. For example, (1) Paul used garment imagery in polemic concerning anthropology only in the Corinthian correspondence (1 Cor 15:45-49, 53-54; 2 Cor 5:2-5). (2) Paul opposed sacramental perfectionism only in 1 Corinthians (1 Cor 10:1-12; 11:17-34; and perhaps 1:16-22 and 3:21-4:7). (3) Paul opposed those who claimed already to have achieved the resurrection only once outside of the Corinthian correspondence (Phil 3:9-21). (4) Paul spoke against such divergent sexual practices only in Corinth. (5) Women took off their head coverings only in Corinth. (6) There is evidence only from Corinth that Jesus traditions were informing sexual practice (1 Cor 7:1-16, 25-40). (7) Outside of 1 Corinthians, Genesis interpretation was a material element of an argument only in Rom 5:12-13 (which was written from Corinth). But in 1 Corinthians, Paul referred to Genesis 1-3 no less than four times, and in the very contexts relevant to the theology of the garment/two-are-one

tradition: the resurrection of the body (1 Cor 15:22, and 45-49), sexual restraint (1 Cor 6:16-17) and sexual distinctiveness (1 Cor 11:3-10). Therefore, all of these elements characteristic of 1 Corinthians surely should be attributed to a unifying religious orientation in Corinth, and not to historical accident.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether or not the garment/two-are-one tradition was present in Corinth in the form of the baptismal saying in Gos. Egypt. and parallels. Regardless, it is clear that Paul knew of this theological orientation when he wrote 1 Corinthians. It is also probable that, if he knew of the saying, it would have been through those identified with the church in Corinth.

# CHAPTER V

## A THEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF GALATIANS 3:26-28 AND THE GARMENT/TWO-ARE-ONE TRADITION

| Gos. Egypt. | Gal 3:26-28 |
|---|---|
| | For in Christ all of you are sons of God through faith, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ |
| When you tread upon the garment (ἔνδυμα) of shame, and when the two become one, | have put on (ἐνεδύσασθε) Christ. There is no Jew or Greek, There is no slave or free, |
| and the male with the female neither male nor female (οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ). | There is no male and female (οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ), for you all are one in Christ Jesus. |

In chapter one we noticed the formal similarities between Gal 3:26-28 and the garment/two-are-one tradition:

1. Both begin with garment images using cognate words: ἔνδυμα, ἐνδύω
2. Both speak of unification: "the two are one," "you all are one"
3. Both list pairs of opposites
4. Both conclude with the pair male/female
5. Both begin in the second person plural and switch to the third person singular

In this chapter, we shall compare the two passages theologically to see if the alterations of the tradition in Gal 3:26-28 at all reflect the controversy later apparent in 1 Corinthians. Our thesis

that Paul in fact was interpreting the garment/two-are-one tradition in Galatians would be firmly supported if the following alterations were consistent with his objections to its theology elsewhere:

1. The alteration of the garment image from "when you tread upon the garment of shame" to "you have put on Christ"

2. The alteration of the unity image from "when the two become one, and the male with the female neither male nor female," to "There is no Jew or Greek. There is no slave or free. There is no male and female. For you all are one in Christ Jesus"

3. The alteration from the subjunctive mood to the indicative

Furthermore, we will be able to show that the movement of the trajectory in the opposite direction (i.e., from Gal 3:26-28 to the garment/two-are-one tradition) is less likely when we understand how Gal 3:26-28 and its images were used by Gnostics.

## The Alteration of the Garment Image

It is clear from 1 Corinthians that Paul disagreed with those for whom the body was a "garment of shame" which must be put off. Twice in chapter 15, Paul used garment allusions in his arguments for the resurrection of the body, and both times he opposed the idea of putting off the body. In 15:45-49 Paul argued against those who, like Philo, believed the first Adam was the heavenly one, and the second the earthly.' As they had worn the image of the earthly, they now wear the image of the heavenly. Paul argued with them at two levels: (1) it was the second Adam, Christ, who was the heavenly one, not the first Adam; (2) even though believers no longer wore the image of the earthly Adam, they did not yet wear the image of the

heavenly. What Paul meant is made more explicit in verses 53-54, where he says emphatically that the corruptible body must not be put off; rather, it must put on incorruption:

> This corruptible (body) must put on (ἐνδύσασθαι) incorruption and this mortal must put on (ἐνδύσασθαι) immortality. When this corruptible puts on (ἐνδύσηται) incorruption and this mortal puts on (ἐνδύσηται) immortality, then will the written saying come about: "Death has been swallowed up in victory."

Again in 2 Cor 5:1-5, Paul emphasized that the Corinthians must not desire to put off the body, but rather to "put on in addition":

> For we know that if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Here indeed we groan, and long to put on our heavenly dwelling, so that by putting it on we may not be found naked. For while we are still in this tent, we sigh with anxiety; not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be further clothed so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life.[1]

In the Corinthian correspondence then, Paul explicitly rejected the idea that one must "put off" the body. One must put on Christ, the heavenly Adam; one must put on immortality and incorruption in addition to the mortal and corruptible body. This refusal to say that the body must be put off is consistent with Paul's apparent alteration of the garment image, in that he substituted "putting on Christ" for "treading on the garment of shame."[2] Therefore, if Paul

---

[1] 2 Cor 5:1-4.

[2] Apart from Gal 3:27 Paul spoke of "putting on Christ" only in Rom 13:12-14; and there too he avoided joining it to putting off the flesh:

> The night is far gone, the day is at hand. Let us then cast off (ἀποθώμεθα) the works of darkness and put on (ἐνδυσώμεθα) the armor of light; let us conduct ourselves becomingly as in the day, not in reveling and drunkenness, not in debauchery and licen-

was dependent on the garment/two-are-one tradition in Gal 3, his alteration of this first element is absolutely consistent with his theology and in opposition to those who would be rid of the body. The baptized do not put off the body; they put on Christ.

Furthermore, it is unlikely that the phrase "you have put on Christ" would have been altered to "when you tread upon the garment of shame" at a later, more gnostic stage of the tradition. Valentinians, for example, had no objection whatever to the idea of putting on Christ; in fact, Gal 3:26-28 itself is alluded to in some texts where one must put off the body as a prerequisite for putting on Christ.[1] This mutation in Pauline images whereby Paul's intention was inverted can be illustrated by the apparent docetic textual alterations of 2 Cor 5:2-5 where Paul opposed this very theology.

Codex Bezae, a number of old Latin manuscripts and the texts

---

> tiousness, not in quarreling and jealousy, but put on (ἐνδύσασθε) the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires.

Notice the structure of this passage:

| | |
|---|---|
| the day is at hand | Let us live as in the day . . . |
| cast off the works of darkness | put on the Lord Jesus Christ, |
| and put on the armor of light | and make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires. |

The natural extension of the garment imagery and chiasmus would have been for Paul to have said at the end "cast off the flesh," not "make no provision for the flesh." He avoided this chiasm: when one puts on Christ one does not put off the flesh, one controls it and puts off its works. Again, he refused to speak of putting off the body.

[1] GPhil, C.G. II, 75, 21-24; TriTrac, C.G. I, 87, 1-4. Cf. Odes Sol. 7:4; 31:12.

used by Marcion and Chrysostom read ἐκδυσάμενοι in 2 Cor 5:3 instead of ἐνδυσάμενοι, thereby neutralizing the force of ἐπενδύω and radically altering the meaning of the whole. The passage might then be translated:

> For in this (body or dwelling) indeed we groan, and desire to put on our heavenly dwelling. And even if we put off (the body) we will not be found naked. For indeed, while we are in this tent we groan because we are weighed down (with corporality), not because we want to be unclothed, but to be clothed.

This is the very anthropology Paul originally opposed in this passage.

A similar phenomenon can be seen in the text witnesses to 1 Cor 15:49. "And as we have worn the image of the earthly (Adam), we also shall (φορέσομεν) wear the image of the heavenly." But by far the majority of manuscripts, including the text used by Marcion, Theodotus the Valentinian (and Clement of Alexandria) read φορέσωμεν for φορέσομεν, which then should be translated "let us wear," not "we shall wear." Here again the tradition shows no reticence in speaking of putting on Christ; the alteration in fact makes the reference more immediate. One should put on Christ now because one no longer wears the image of the earthly Adam. Paul was turned against Paul by the substitution of an omega for an omicron. Therefore, while the alteration of "when you tread upon the garment of shame" to "you have put on Christ" is both consistent with and demanded by Paul's anthropology, the reverse is in no way demanded by docetic or Gnostic anthropology.

## The Alteration of the Unity Image

The affirmation of unity in the congregation in Paul's alterations of the tradition coincides with his polemic with the pneuma-

tics in 1 Corinthians. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Paul and the Corinthians had polarized interpretations of baptism. For the Corinthians, as for Valentinian and Syrian Christians, baptism was a rite by which the initiate received or symbolized individual salvation from the world. Because they considered baptism to have been an individualistic mystical rite, the schism caused by the identification of the initiate with his or her mystagogue--i.e., "I am of Paul . . . Apollos . . . or Cephas"--did not vitiate the rite itself. But for Paul these divisions caused by baptism violated its very essence; baptism was a symbol of unity, of membership in Christ's body. For example, in his denunciation of the division of the community caused by various spiritual gifts, Paul wrote:

> For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body--Jews and Greeks, slaves or free--and all were made to drink of one Spirit. (12:12-13).

In the next fourteen verses Paul continued to speak of the community as the space or body in which this unity was achieved.

In Galatians he opposed another kind of division, that between Jews and Greeks; and again in Gal 3:26-28, as in 1 Corinthians 12, he repeatedly used spatial or corporeal imagery to represent the unity symbolized in baptism. This imagery is apparent first of all in his introducing and ending the section with phrases containing ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. As Ernest Best observes:

> The ἐν /in ἐν Χριστῷ/ has a local flavour throughout /Paul's writings/ Christ is the "place" in whom believers are and

in whom salvation is.[1]

Second, the image of putting on Christ certainly suggests spatial relationship: the baptized have become part of Christ's body. Third, being "baptized into Christ" (εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε) also has a spatial meaning. Some scholars have taken this phrase as a shortened form of being baptized into the name of Christ,[2] but Paul never directly used "baptized into the name" even though he knew of it and apparently approved of it (1 Cor 1:13, 15). Best concludes that, like ἐν in verses 26 and 28, "there is no argument . . . sufficiently strong to force us to alter our conclusion that in the phrase βαπτίζειν εἰς Χριστόν, εἰς is to be given a "local" or "spatial" connotation."[3] It is apparent then, that Paul emphatically altered the sexual unity of the garment/two-are-one tradition to become social unity in Christ. They had been baptized into Christ; they had put on Christ. This emphasis corresponds perfectly with his discussion of unity in the body of Christ in 1 Corinthians.

But what about the other alterations of the tradition, namely, the pairs Jew/Greek and slave/free? If Paul were interpreting the garment/two-are-one tradition, one might simply say he saw in the

---

[1]One Body in Christ: A Study in the Relationship of the Church to Christ in the Epistles of the Apostle Paul (London: S.P.C.K., 1955) 7-8. Ernest De Witt Burton agrees (A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians /ICC, 35; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920/ 202-203).

[2]For example, George Beasley-Murray, Baptism in the New Testament (London: Macmillan, 1962) 129.

[3]One Body, 73. Cf. Rom 6:3a.

male/female pair a reference to social unity and the other pairs were generated from it. We have seen in the history of the garment/two-are-one tradition that the pairs were frequently expanded: 2 Clem's version had "the outside as the inside" and Gos.Thom. "the inside as the outside, and the outside as the inside, and the above as the below."

But perhaps we can be more precise. The very pairs used in Gal 3:26-28 also appear in an ancient Jewish daily prayer quoted by R. Judah b. El'ai (ca 150 CE) which Paul may have known:

> There are three blessings one must pray daily:
> I thank you I was not created a gentile,
> I thank you I was not created a woman,
> I thank you I was not created an uncultured person.[1]

The Hebrew word bôr, here translated "uncultured person," could mean either a moron (which probably was the meaning of the word for R. Judah) or someone destitute, uneducated. If Paul knew of the prayer in this form, he could have interpreted the word as "slave." But he also might have known the prayer as it is found in the Babylonian Talmud with the reading ʿebed, "slave," for bôr.[2] In that case, of course, the triad would have been identical to that in Gal 3:26-28. Regardless of the original form of the prayer, it is one of the earliest known to us from the Tannaitic period. Tosephta Berakoth characteristically did not create traditions but standardized them, so R. Judah's reference to it probably was intended to

---

[1] Tosephta Berakoth 7:18.

[2] Menakoth 43:b.

regulate its form and make it a daily mitzvah. It is unlikely that a prayer which was not traditional would have become a daily obligation. If Paul knew the prayer, he might have used its triad to interpret the garment/two-are-one tradition as a comparison shows:

| garment/two-are-one | Gal 3:26-28 | Tosephta Berakoth |
|---|---|---|
| When the two become one, | There is no Jew or Greek. | I thank you I was not created a Gentile, |
| | There is no slave or free. | I thank you I was not created a woman |
| and the male with the female neither male nor female. | There is no male and female. | I thank you I was not created a slave (or, uncultured person). |

Paul's alteration of the last two elements of the prayer is quite understandable if he were interpreting the garment/two-are-one tradition, since there the male/female element is listed at the end.

Furthermore, there is evidence that Paul related ecclesial unity to the sexual imagery and Genesis background of the two becoming one. As Krister Stendahl has recognized, when Paul altered the pattern "There is no . . . or . . . . There is no . . . or . . . . There is no male and female," he seems to have alluded to Gen 1:27, "male and female He created them."[1] In other words, Paul's own use of the tradition retains an allusion to Genesis 1-3. In Gal 6:15, Paul spoke of the unity of Jews and Greeks as a

---

[1]The Bible and the Role of Women (tr. Emilie T. Sander; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) 32.

"new creation" (καινὴ κτίσις) which transcended their division. The two ethnic groups became one in a new creation. Jacob Jervell suggests that Paul emphasized this point in Galatians because of the Jewish tradition that Gentiles were not created in God's image.

> Nun wissen wir aus der spätjüdischen Gottebenbildlickeits-problematick, dass sie mit der Vorstellung von der Gottebenbildlichkeit Israels arbeitet. Der Heide ist nun einmal nicht gottebenbildlich. So wie das Gesetz dort für die Gottgleichheit entscheidend ist, so hier Christus. So wie Israel dort die Schöpfung ist, so hier die christliche Gemeinde.[1]

Furthermore, there is evidence in the Deutero-Pauline letter Colossians that some in the Pauline circle saw in Gal 3:26-28 an allusion to a new creation. In Ephesians there is evidence that this new creation included the union of Jew and Greek.

| Gal 3:26-28 | Col 3:9-11 | Eph 4:22-24 |
|---|---|---|
| As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, | Put off the old human with his deeds, | Put off the old human which belongs to your former manner of life and is corrupt through deceitful lusts, and be renewed in the spirit of your minds, |
| have put on Christ. | and put on the new human renewed unto knowledge according to the image of the one who created him, where | and put on the new human created after the likeness of God. |
| There is no Jew or Greek. | there is no Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, | |
| There is no slave or free. | slave, free, | |

---

[1] Imago, 251.

| | |
|---|---|
| There is no male and female | |
| For you are all one in Christ. | but Christ is all things and in all things. |

Notice first Col 3:9-11 which was probably dependent on Gal 3:26-28: instead of putting on Christ, one puts on the new human in the image of its creator, "where (!) there is no Greek and Jew." In other words, Jews and Greeks are united in a new creation, just as Paul implied in his alterations of the garment/two-are-one tradition and as he made explicit in Gal 6:15. Notice also that Ephesians, obviously dependent on Colossians, also spoke of putting on the new human created in God's image. The only other place the new human is mentioned in Ephesians is in 2:14-18 where he is the place in which the two ethnic groups, Jews and Greeks, become one. The imagery of the two becoming one appears here no less than four times:

> For he himself is our peace, who made both one (τὰ ἀμφότερα ἕν) and destroyed the wall of partition, hostility, in his flesh abolishing the law of commandments and ordinances, in order that he might create in him the two into one new human (τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ . . . εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, cf. Gen 2:24b LXX, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν) making peace, and in order to reconcile both in one body (τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι) to God through the cross thereby killing hostility. And he came and preached peace to you who were far off and peace to those who were near; for through him we both, in one spirit (οἱ ἀμφότεροι ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι) have access to the Father.

Derwood C. Smith has shown that this passage presupposed the androgyne myth and altered it to speak of social unity in Christ.[1] This alteration is the very one we have suggested Paul made in his use

---

[1]"The Two Made One: Some Observations on Ephesians 2:14-18," Ohio Journal of Religious Studies, 1 (1973) 34-54.

of the garment/two-are-one tradition. That the author knew of androgyne speculation related to Gen 2:24 is made more probable from Eph 5:30-32:[1]

> For we are members of his body, "for this reason a man will leave father and mother and cling to his wife, and the two will become one flesh." This mystery is great, but I take it to mean Christ and the Church.

By calling the passage a "mystery" he reveals a knowledge of speculations on Gen 2:24.

It must be emphasized that the presence of this Genesis exegesis in Ephesians is no proof that Paul himself necessarily interpreted Gen 2:24 as a reference to the union of Jew and Greek in a new human, but it does show that the passage was so interpreted by some people close to Paul. Furthermore, when Colossians used the quotation from Galatians, social unity was linked to the new human, "where there is no Greek and Jew, etc." When this evidence of androgyne speculation in Pauline circles is added to Paul's own statement in Gal 6:15 that the division of Jews and Greeks was transcended in a new creation, our claim--i.e. that Paul interpreted the two becoming one in the garment/two-are-one tradition as Jews and Greeks becoming one--is made not only comprehensible, but in fact quite likely.

On the other hand, Gnostics had no objection whatever in affirming the unity of Jews and Greeks in the congregation; in fact, apparently it was seldom an issue for them. Therefore, whereas Paul could not have accepted the garment/two-are-one tradition

---

[1]For a discussion of this passage which related it to androgyne speculation see J. Paul Sampley, "And the Two Shall Become One Flesh": A Study of Traditions in Ephesians 5:21-33 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1971) 51-61.

with its appeal for sexual unity, those responsible for the garment/two-are-one tradition could have accepted without reservation Gal 3:26-28. Of course, this is not conclusive evidence for the priority of the garment/two-are-one tradition; but if it were the earlier, we can explain its Pauline alterations easier than we can the alterations if the opposite were the case.

## The Alteration of the Moods

Whereas the garment/two-are-one tradition used subjunctive verbs throughout (πατήσητε, γένηται or ποιήσητε), Gal 3:26-28 used the indicative (ἐνεδύσασθε, ἔνι). Certainly little would have been gained for Gnostic theology if Paul's realized eschatology ("there is no") had been made conditional ("when . . ."), since Gnostic realized eschatology was more radical than Paul's. But why might Paul have so emphatically insisted on the indicative "οὐκ ἔνι . . . οὐκ ἔνι . . . οὐκ ἔνι . . ."? Here Wayne Meeks is quite helpful when he speaks of Gal 3: 26-28 as a "performative utterance."

> So long as it is spoken validly, as perceived within the community's accepted norms of order, it does what it says. Thus though we might suppose that the only possible realistic function of such language would be to inculcate an attitude, the form of the statement is not "you ought to think . . .," but "there is . . . ." A factual claim is being made, about an "objective" change in reality that fundamentally modifies social roles.[1]

Paul was not describing social relations as they were in his communities, but as they should have been. The tradition's promise that the two will become one he spoke of as a social reality, so that the promise would become a reality.

---

[1] Meeks, "Image," 182.

## Conclusion

Paul's alterations of the garment/two-are-one tradition are remarkably consistent with his polemic against this same theology in 1 Corinthians. The initiate must put on Christ, not put off the body. Baptism was not a mystery rite which insured the initiate of oneness with God or with one's heavenly syzygy, but a symbol of social unity in Christ. The church was the new creation in which alienated social groups--Jews/Greeks, slave/free, men/women--were united. The promise of the garment/two-are-one tradition (the subjunctive mood) became fulfilled in Gal 3:26-28 (the indicative). Perhaps Paul's list of social opposites was adopted from the prayer in Tosephta Berakoth, in which case Paul would have suggested that God's new creation had broken down the very distinctions one was thankful for in that prayer.

Conversely, there is no consistent interpretive principle to explain the alterations from Gal 3:26-28 to the garment/two-are-one tradition. Therefore, if there is any relationship between the two, Gal 3:26-28 most likely was an alteration of the garment/ two-are-one tradition and not the other way around. Each alteration can be explained in terms of one principle: social equality in Christ. Every believer puts on Christ in baptism and thereby all become one. Paul saw this unity suggested in the phrases "the two become one" and "the male with the female neither male nor female," and extrapolated this last sociological pair into the other pairs, Jew/Greek, slave/free. If this indeed was the direction of dependence, it should now be possible to monitor the trajectory of the garment/two-are-one, and to interpret Paul's understanding of sexual division.

# CONCLUSION

## The Garment/Two-Are-One Trajectory

By comparing Gal 3:26-28 with the garment/two-are-one tradition (chapter one), we have seen that the two passages are so structurally and verbally similar that some genetic relationship between the two is probable. Furthermore, by suggesting that Paul was dependent on this tradition, we can account for the structural elements in Gal 3:26-28 which scholars have previously identified as indicating the presence of some tradition. We have also seen that the most likely life situation for the garment/two-are-one tradition was baptism (chapters two and three). This baptismal *Sitz im Leben* confirms our thesis that Paul was dependent on it, since in the context of Gal 3:26-28 he argued that all believers were children of God through faith, but to prove his point he referred to baptism. In addition, if Paul in fact did use the tradition, his alterations of it were consistent with his opposition to the anthropology and soteriology it presupposed (chapters four and five). Since there are no formal or theological reasons to suggest that the garment/two-are-one tradition was dependent on Gal 3:26-28, it would appear that Paul, like the preacher of *2 Clem.* and Clement of Alexandria, used the tradition by shaping its malleable imagery for his own ends.

If the direction of dependence has been properly identified, it

becomes possible to trace the trajectory or history of the garment/two-are-one tradition. The precise origin of the saying itself still lies in the penumbral past, even though the saying was attributed to Jesus in Gos. Egypt., 2 Clem., and Gos. Thom. The anthropology and Genesis speculation implied by the saying were foreign to Jesus, but were quite at home in Alexandrian Judaism--e.g., Philo--and in Corinthian Christianity by the time Paul wrote 1 Corinthians in 53/54 C.E. Perhaps these ideas were introduced in Corinth by Apollos, who like Philo was a Hellenistic Jewish Biblical scholar from Alexandria. He arrived in Corinth several years before Paul wrote Galatians and 1 Corinthians. Whether or not Apollo transmitted these ideas, the Corinthians shared with Philo speculation on the first and second Adams, disdain for the body, and hopes of a sacramental escape from the material world. Also, the Corinthian women, like Asenath of the Hellenistic Jewish romance, symbolized their return to the divine image by removing their veils. It is likely, therefore, that the saying came from a Christian community, like Corinth, which was influenced by Hellenistic Judaism.

Paul knew of the saying by the year 53 when he wrote Galatians. He altered the saying so that putting off the garment of shame became putting on Christ, and the two sexes becoming one became all social groups becoming one in Christ. These alterations suggest that baptism, for Paul, was not the means by which the individual escaped the body and was restored to the primordial state; rather, baptism was the symbol by which the individual expressed membership in a new

creation, a unified community.

These alterations of the tradition are consistent with Paul's polemic in 1 Corinthians, written about one year after Galatians. Several times Paul objected to the idea that the body must be put off; rather, believers must wait to put on the image of the heavenly Adam, Christ (1 Cor 15:49; cf. vss. 53-54). Paul also argued that baptism could not assure one of moral or ontological perfection (1 Cor 10:1-12; 15:29); after all, baptism was essentially a symbol of Christian unity (1 Cor 12:13).

But Paul's interpretation of baptism did not prevail--even in the Pauline tradition. The following passages from the Deutero-Pauline books Colossians and Ephesians identify baptism with putting off the flesh (or the old human) with resurrection, and with a return to the divine image.[1] In Paul's name we find the Corinthians' sacramentology.

> In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ; and you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead (Col 2:11-12).
>
> Put off the old human with its deeds, and put on the new renewed unto knowledge according to the image of the one who created it, where there is no Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free. But Christ is all things and in all things (Col 3:9-11).
>
> Put off the old human which belongs to the former way of living, corrupted through the desires of deceit, and be renewed in the spirit of your minds, and put on the new human created after God (Eph 4:22-24).

Not even the textual tradition of the authentic Pauline books was safe from the pens of those who believed in a baptismal resurrection.[1]

Furthermore, in spite of Paul's radical alteration of it, the garment/two-are-one saying itself continued to exercise its influence on early Christian communities widely separated geographically and theologically. The preacher of 2 Clem. knew and used the tradition, although he interpreted it in ways quite congenial to the "orthodox." The tradition also was used by Gos. Egypt. and Gos. Thom., and it informed the baptismal anthropology of Valentinians (especially Julius Cassianus) and Syrian Christians. The Exegesis on the Soul (Valentinian) and the shorter text of the Acts of Thomas (Syrian) both show traces of just such a baptismal tradition. It is difficult to know how long the tradition lasted, but there is reason to think it continued for at least a century after Clement of Alexandria rejected it in book three of the Stromateis. Both Gos. Egypt. and Gos. Thom. were used until the fourth century; and celibate requirements for baptism certainly continued in Syria to the death of Aphraates, and among some Gnostics and Marcionites until both were absorbed into the Manichean movement, itself rigorously ascetic.

## Sexual Division in Paul

It has almost become a scholarly commonplace to presume that

---

[1]Pages 101, n. 2, and 130-131.

Paul was interested in the question of sexual relations for its own sake, regardless of whether one views Paul as the feminist's final foe or as her first friend. But such a presumption surely is an abortion of chronological justice, for it extradicts Paul from his world and places him on trial in our own. We must allow him to return to the first century, and judge him in light of the problems and presuppositions of that age.

This study has attempted to describe the development of a sacramental and anthropological tradition with which Paul seems to have been in conversation whenever he addressed himself to the question of relations between the sexes. When Gal 3:26-28 and 1 Cor 11:3-16 are evaluated from this perspective, Paul's apparently contradictory position comes into clearer focus.

First, Paul did not intend Gal 3:26-28 to be a manifesto for sexual equality. The reference to male/female unity came from the tradition; and this pair was the least important for Paul since he omitted it in 1 Cor 12:13 where he was no longer directly dependent on the tradition. Paul's intention in using the tradition in Galatians no doubt was to support his argument for the unity of Jews and Greeks in Christ, which he saw in the phrase "when the two become one."

Second, it would be unfair to single out Paul's reference to the inferiority of women in 1 Cor 11:3-16 as the epitome of his attitude on the subject. In this passage Paul opposed the now extinct practice of women taking off their veils in worship, by

which they symbolized their becoming male and returning to the divine image. To make his point he too had to speak of the woman's inferiority, since he argued that the Corinthian women demonstrated their participation in the divine image by wearing their head coverings, not by removing them. To us, Paul's logic here is neither impressive nor necessary, but neither was it for Paul himself. Immediately after giving his argument for the subordinate place of women, he backed off from its harshness by saying:

> in the Lord woman is not independent of man nor man of woman; for a woman was made from man, so man is now born of woman. And all things are from God.

This is not far, of course, from Paul's statement in Gal 3:26-28 that "There is no male and female. For you all are one in Christ Jesus."

But to say that Paul's statements about male-female relations were all conditioned by a now dead debate is not to say that his comments are irrelevant to modern struggles for sexual equality. First, even though he used the tradition in Galatians primarily to support the unity of Jews and Greeks; by including sexual equality in the pairs of opposites to be united in Christ, he did lay the foundation for a fully egalitarian community. Paul's own failure to develop the implications of his vision in Gal 3:26-28 need not deter his spiritual offspring from doing so.

Second, by opposing the garment/two-are-one tradition, he opposed those for whom the woman must become male as a soteriological solution to the Fall. One finds this sexist salvation in / view of

the philosophical roots of the tradition in Hellenistic Judaism (Philo and Joseph and Asenath), in its Corinthian manifestation (1 Cor 11:3-16), and in Valentinian and Thomas Christianity.[1] By opposing this tradition with its misogyny and asceticism, Paul affirmed human sexuality--both female and male.

The third and perhaps most important of Paul's contributions is his insistence that Christian existence is one of process, not one of perfection. Both in his use of the tradition in Gal 3:26-28 and in his polemic in 1 Corinthians, Paul objected to those who claimed that they had already achieved the divine image. With the Corinthians he agreed that believers no longer wore the image of the earthly Adam, but he disagreed that they had already put on the image of the heavenly Adam. For Paul, that was to happen ultimately only after death or at the Parousia. Christian existence in the present was one of faith, anticipation, and love.

This pattern of "no longer . . . not yet" suggests that we too must be satisfied with being a community in process. Our communities of faith, like Paul's, are frequently broken and disunited; nonetheless, our vision, like Paul's, is one of wholeness and unity in Christ, and our hope, like Paul's, lies in the assurance that power is made perfect in weakness. This recognition of our limitations

---

[1]Even though in Valentinianism this motif did not necessarily refer to the female gender (since the imagery is often used for the female soul becoming united with her heavenly syzygy), the imagery itself was certainly misogynistic--and not only to our ears. Even Tertullian, who himself was not above a sexist remark, recognized the sexist nature of the imagery among Valentinians.

should preclude both male and female chauvinism, and should remind us that the struggle for a more loving and fully human community is a perpetual one.

Paul must return to his own world; nonetheless, he remains important for ours, even in our struggles for sexual equality. In Gal 3:26-28, he laid the foundation for a fully egalitarian and united community. In 1 Corinthians, he affirmed the value of the body and sexuality. And in both, he has reminded us that our existence too--whether male or female--is imperfect, incomplete, and penultimate.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Works Cited)


Abrahams, Israel. Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels. 2 vols. Cambridge: The University Press, 1917. Reprint (2 vols. in 1). Library of Biblical Studies. New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1967.

Baer, Richard Arthur. Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female. Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums, 3. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.

Baker, Aelred. "Fasting to the World." Journal of Biblical Literature 84 (1965): 291-94.

Balch, D. L. "Background of I Cor VII: Sayings of the Lord in Q; Moses as a Theios Aner in II Cor III." New Testament Studies 18 (1972): 351-64.

Baltensweiler, Heinrich. Die Ehe im Neuen Testament: Exegetische Untersuchungen über Ehe, Ehelosigkeit und Ehescheidung. Arbeiten zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 52. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1967.

Banks, Robert J. Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition. Monograph series: Society for New Testament Studies, 28. Cambridge: The University Press, 1975.

Bartchy, S. Scott. First-Century Slavery and 1 Corinthians 7:21. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, 11. Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973.

Bauer, Walter. Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity. Translated by a team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, and edited by Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.

Beasley-Murray, George Raymond. Baptism in the New Testament. London: Macmillan, 1962.

Bernard, John Henry. "The Odes of Solomon." Journal of Theological Studies 12 (1911): 1-31.

_____, ed. The Odes of Solomon. Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, edited by J. A. Robinson, 8, 3. Cambridge: The University Press, 1912.

Bernard, Ludger. "Zu Klemens' von Alexandrien Stromateon III, 82, 6: Eine quellenkritische Studie." In Perennitas: Beiträge zur christlichen Archäologie und Kunst, zur Geschichte der Literatur, der Liturgie und des Mönchtums sowie zur Philosophie des Rechts und zur politischen Philosophie, edited by Hugo Rahner and Emmanuel von Severus. Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, Supplement vol. 2, pp. 11-18. Münster: Aschendorff, 1963.

Best, Ernest. One Body in Christ: A Study in the Relationship of the Church to Christ in the Epistles of the Apostle Paul. London: S.P.C.K., 1955.

Bolgiani, Franco. "La polemica di Clemente Alessandrino contro gli libertini nel III libro degli 'Stromati.'" In Studi in onore di Alberto Pincherle, studi e materiali de storia delle religioni, 38, 1, pp. 86-136. Rome: Ateneo, 1967.

Bornkamm, Günther. Early Christian Experience. Translated by Paul L. Hammer. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.

Bouttier, Michel. "Complexio Oppositorum: Sur les formules de 1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:26-28; Col 3:10-11." New Testament Studies 23 (1976): 1-19.

Broudéhoux, Jean-Paul. Mariage et famille chez Clément d'Alexandrie. Theologie Historique, 2. Paris: Beauchesne & Ses Fils, 1970.

Bultmann, Rudolf Karl. The History of the Synoptic Tradition. Translated by John Marsh. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

Burchard, Christoph. Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Asenath: Ueberlieferung, Ortsbestimmung. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 8. Tübingen: Mohr, 1965.

Burton, Ernest De Witt. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, 35. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.

Charlesworth, James Hamilton, ed. The Odes of Solomon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

Connolly, Richard Hugh. The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai. 1909. Reprint. Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, 8, 19. Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1967.

Conzelmann, Hans. 1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistles to the Corinthians. Translated by James W. Leitch. Edited by George W. MacRae. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.

Daube, David. "Evangelisten und Rabbinen." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 48 (1957): 119-26.

_____. The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism. Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion, 2. London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1956.

Dehandschutter, B. "Les paraboles de l'Évangile selon Thomas: La parabole du trésor caché (logion 109)." Ephemerides theologicae lovaniensis 47 (1971): 199-219.

Delcourt, Marie. Hermaphrodite: Mythes et rites de la bisexualité dans l'antiquité classique. Mythes et religions. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1958. (In English translation by Jennifer Nicholson, Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity. London: Studio Books, 1961.)

_____. Hermaphroditea: Recherchés sur l'être double promoteur de la fertilité dans le monde classique. Collection Latomus, 86. Brussels: Latomus, 1966.

Diels, Hermann, and Kranz, Walter, eds. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, griechisch und deutsch. 2 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1954.

Donfried, Karl Paul. The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity. Supplements to Novum Testamentum, 38. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.

Ehlers, Barbara. "Kann das Thomasevangelium aus Edessa stammen? Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums in Edessa." Novum Testamentum 12 (1970): 284-317.

Ephraem Syrus, Saint. Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania). Edited by Edmund Beck. Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, 186. Scriptores Syri, 82. Louvain: Secretariat du Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, 1959.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. "The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas." Theological Studies 20 (1959): 505-60. (This article is reprinted in Fitzmyer's Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament. pp. 355-433. London: G. Chapman, 1971, and Sources for Biblical Study, 5. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974.)

Foerster, Werner. Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts. 2 vols. Translated by Robert McL. Wilson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972-74.

Gärtner, Bertril. The Theology of the Gospel According to Thomas. Translated by Eric J. Sharpe. New York: Harper, 1961.

Gaffron, Hans-Georg. Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sakramente. Bonn, 1969.

Ginzberg, Louis. The Legends of the Jews. Vol. 5. Translated by Henrietta Szold. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1925.

The Gospel According to Thomas. Coptic text established and translated by Antoine Guillaumont, et. al. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.

Grant, Robert McQueen. The Secret Sayings of Jesus. In collaboration with David Noel Friedman. With an English translation of the Gospel of Thomas by William R. Schoedel. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960.

Guillaumont, Antoine. "Νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον." Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale 61 (1962): 15-23.

Haenchen, Ernest. Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums. Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann, 6. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1961.

Harris, James Rendel, and Mingana, Alphonse. The Odes and Psalms of Solomon. Vol. 1. Manchester: The University Press, 1916.

Hennecke, Edgar, and Schneemelcher, Wilhelm, eds. New Testament Apocrypha. 2 vols. English translation by A. J. B. Higgins and others, edited by Robert McL. Wilson. Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1963-65.

Hilgenfeld, Adolph. Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1884.

Hippolytus, Saint, fl. Werke. Vol. 1. Exegetische und homiletische Schriften. Edited by G. N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis. Griechische christliche Schriftsteller, 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1897.

Hooker, Morna D. "Authority on Her Head: An Examination of 1 Cor 11:10." New Testament Studies 10 (1963-64): 410-16.

Horsley, Richard A. "Paul and the Pneumatikoi: First Corinthians Investigated in Terms of the Conflict Between Two Different Religious Mentalities." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1970.

Jeremias, Joachim. New Testament Theology. Translated by John Bowden. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.

_____. Unknown Sayings of Jesus. Translated by Reginald H. Fuller. London: S.P.C.K., 1957.

Jervell, Jacob. Imago Dei: Gen 1, 26 f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, new series: 58, entire series: 76. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960.

Kee, Howard Clark. "'Becoming a Child' in the Gospel of Thomas." Journal of Biblical Literature 82 (1963): 307-14.

_____. "The Socio-Religious Setting and Aims of 'Joseph and Asenath.'" In Society of Biblical Literature 1976 Seminar Papers: 112th Annual Meeting, edited by George W. MacRae. Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1976.

Klijn, Albertus Frederik Johannes. "Christianity in Edessa and the Gospel of Thomas." Novum Testamentum 14 (1972): 70-77.

_____. "The 'Single One' in the Gospel of Thomas." Journal of Biblical Literature 81 (1962): 271-78.

Koester, Helmut. "Gnomai Diaphoroi: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity." In Trajectories Through Early Christianity. Essays by James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, pp. 114-57. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.

_____. "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels." In Trajectories Through Early Christianity. Essays by James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, pp. 158-204. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.

_____. Synoptische Ueberlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 65 (5th series, vol. 10). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957.

Kraft, Robert A. "Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 655 Reconsidered." Harvard Theological Review 54 (1961): 253-262.

Lake, Kirsopp, trans. The Apostolic Fathers. 2 vols. The Loeb Classical Library. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912-13.

Légasse, S. "Foi et baptême chez saint Paul: Étude de Galates 3:26-27." Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique 74 (1973): 81-102.

Lightfoot, Joseph Barber. The Apostolic Fathers. Vol, 1, part 2. New York: Macmillan, 1885.

Lohse, Eduard. Colossians and Philemon: A Commentary on the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon. Translated by William R. Poehlmann and Robert J. Karris. Edited by Helmut Koester. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.

Marcovish, M. "Textual Criticism on the Gospel of Thomas." Journal of Theological Studies 20 (1969): 53-74.

Meeks, Wayne A. "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity." History of Religions 13 (1974): 165-208.

Ménard, Jacques-É. L'Évangile selon Thomas. Nag Hammadi Studies, 5. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.

_____. "Le milieu syriaque de l'Évangile selon Thomas et de l'Évangile selon Philipp." Revue des Sciences religieuses 42 (1968): 261-66.

Midrash Rabbah. Translated into English with notes, glossary and indices under the editorship of Rabbi Dr. H. Freedman, and Maurice Simon. 13 vols. in 10. London: Soncino, 1939.

Mingana, Alphonse. Commentary of Theodore of Mopseustia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. Woodbrooke Christian Documents, edited and translated with a critical apparatus by Alphonse Mingana, 6. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1933.

Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome. "The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Corinthians 11: 2-16." Journal of Biblical Literature 95 (1976): 615-21.

Murray, Robert. "The Exhortation to Candidates for Ascetical Vows at Baptism in the Ancient Syriac Church." New Testament Studies 21 (1974): 59-80.

Nineham, D. E. The Gospel of St. Mark. The Pelican Gospel Commentaries. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1975.

Orbe, Antonio. "El pecado de Eva, signo de división." Orientalia Christiana Periodica 29 (1963): 305-30.

Pagels, Elaine. "Paul and Women: A Response to Recent Discussion." Journal of the American Academy of Religion 42 (1974): 538-49.

Pearson, Birger A. The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, 12. Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973.

Philo. 10 vols. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, with two supplementary volumes translated by Ralph Marcus. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929-1962.

Philonenko, Marc. Joseph et Aseneth. Studia post-Biblica, 13. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968.

Puech, Henri-Charles. "Gnostic Gospels and Related Documents." In New Testament Apocrypha, vol. 1, edited by Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. English translation by A. J. B. Higgins and others, edited by Robert McL. Wilson, pp. 231-362. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963.

Quispel, Gilles. "L'Évangile selon Thomas et les origines de l'ascèse chretienne." In Aspects du judéo-christianisme. Centre d'études supérieures specialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg: Colloque de Strasbourg, 23-25 avril 1964. Travaux de Centre d'études supérieures specialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg, 1, pp. 35-52. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965.

_____. "Gnosticism and the New Testament." In The Bible in Modern Scholarship: Papers read at the 100th meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, edited by James Philip Hyatt, pp. 252-71. Nashville: Abingdon, 1965.

_____. "Gnosis and the New Sayings of Jesus." Eranos Jahrbuch 38 (1969): 261-96.

_____. "Makarius und das Lied von der Perle." In Le origini dello gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina, 13-18 aprile 1966, edited by Ugo Bianchi. Studies in the History of Religions: Supplements to Numen, 12, pp. 625-44. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.

Rengstorf, Karl Heinrich. "Urchristliches Kerygma und 'gnostische' Interpretation in einigen Sprüchen des Thomasevangeliums." In Le origini dello gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina, 13-18 aprile 1966, edited by Ugo Bianchi. Studies in the History of Religions: Supplements to Numen, 12, pp. 563-74. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.

Resch, Alfred. Agrapha; aussercanonische Schriftfragmente. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 30, 3-4; Neue Folge, 15, 3-4. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906.

Richardson, Cyril C. "The Gospel of Thomas, Gnostic or Encratite?" In The Heritage of the Early Church, edited by David Neiman and Margaret Schatkin. Orientalia christiana analecta, 195. Rome: Pontificium Institutum orientalium studiorum, 1973.

Robinson, James M. "Kerygma and History in the New Testament." In Trajectories Through Early Christianity. Essays by James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, pp. 20-70. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.

_____, ed. The Nag Hammadi Library: In English. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977.

Robinson, William C., Jr. "The Exegesis of the Soul." Novum Testamentum 12 (1970): 102-17.

Ropes, James Hardy. Die Sprüche Jesu. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte altchristlichen Literatur, 14, 2. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1897.

Sampley, J. Paul. "And the Two Shall Become One Flesh:" A Study of Traditions in Ephesians 5:21-33. Cambridge: The University Press, 1971.

Schmithals, Walter. Gnosticism in Corinth. Translated by John E. Steely. Nashville: Abingdon, 1971.

Schneemelcher, Wilhelm. "The Gospel of the Egyptians." In New Testament Apocrypha, vol. 1, edited by Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. English translation by A. J. B. Higgins and others, edited by Robert McL. Wilson, pp. 166-178. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963.

Schoedel, William R. "Naassene Themes in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas." Vigiliae christianae 14 (1960): 225-34.

Schrage, Wolfgang. Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der ältere Kirche, 29. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1964.

Schwartz, Edward. Tatiani Oratio ad Graecos. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 4, 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1888.

Segelberg, Eric. "The Baptismal Role According to Some of the Coptic-Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi." In International Conference on Patristic Studies: Papers presented at the Third International Conference on Patristic Studies, edited

by F. L. Cross. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 80, Studia Patristica 5, pp. 117-28. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962.

_____. "The Coptic-Gnostic Gospel According to Philip and Its Sacramental System." Numen: International Review for the History of Religions 7 (1960): 189-200.

Smith, Derwood C. "The Two Made One: Some Observations on Ephesians 2:14-18." Ohio Journal of Religious Studies 1 (1973): 34-54.

Smith, Jonathan Z. "Birth Upside Down or Right Side Up?" History of Religions 9 (1970): 281-303.

_____. "The Garments of Shame." History of Religions 5 (1966): 217-38.

Smith, Morton. Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Stendahl, Krister. The Bible and the Role of Women. Translated by Emilie T. Sander. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966.

Strack, Hermann L., and Billerbeck, Paul. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. 4 vols. Munich: Beck, 1922-61.

Taylor, Charles. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri and the Apocryphal Gospels. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899.

Venetz, Hermann-Josef. "'Christus anziehen:' Eine Exegese zu Gal 3:26-27 als Beitrag zum paulinischen Taufverständnis." Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie 20 (1973): 3-36.

Vööbus, Arthur. Celibacy: A Requirement for Admission to Baptism in the Early Syrian Church. Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, scholarly series, 1. Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1951.

_____. The History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East. Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, 184. Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus scriptorum orientalium, 1958.

Walker, William O., Jr. "1 Cor 11:2-16 and Paul's Views Regarding Women." Journal of Biblical Literature 94 (1975): 94-110.

Williams, Michael A. "Realized Eschatology in the Gospel of Philip." Restoration Quarterly 14 (1971): 1-17.

Wilson, Robert McLachlan. Studies in the Gospel of Thomas. London: Mowbray, 1960.

Winter, Paul. "Genesis 1:27 and Jesus' Saying on Divorce." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 70 (1958): 260-61.

Wisse, Frederick. "On Exegeting 'The Exegesis on the Soul.'" In Les textes de Nag Hammadi, edited by Jacques-É. Ménard, Nag Hammadi Studies, 7, pp. 68-81. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.

Zahn, Theodor von. Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons. 2 vols. Erlangen: Deichert, 1888-1892.

# IMPORTANT NOTICE

This thesis is the property of Harvard University. In order to protect the literary rights of the author, the University reserves exclusive rights to reproduce its theses. Theses supplied on loan are for reading and consultation purposes only; further reproduction by any process is expressly forbidden.

Microfilm or other copies may not be recopied, sold or given away to another individual, firm, or library, without written permission from the University.

A reader may not quote or closely paraphrase the contents of this thesis in his own work without the author's written permission. Author's address will be supplied, insofar as possible, by the Harvard University Archives. If this thesis benefits the reader's research in any way, he must acknowledge such benefits in his own work.

All inquiries regarding the use of, and restrictions on, this thesis should be addressed to:

HARVARD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS